

INDIAN NOTES

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VOL. VII OCTOBER, 1930

No. 4

ANNOUNCEMENT

WITH this issue the publication of *Indian Notes* will cease. It has been published by the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, for seven years and we feel that our efforts in this little publication have not been in vain.

Due to administrative changes, it is deemed best for the Museum now to devote its editorial facilities to the publication of longer, even if not more important, articles than were possible under the form of *Indian Notes*. These will appear from time to time in the series known as *Indian Notes and Monographs*.

We wish to take this occasion to thank those of our readers who have offered constructive criticism to us upon this series of *Indian Notes* and also express our gratitude for the many letters of commendation we have had regarding it.

GEORGE G. HEYE,
Director

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MISTASSINI NOTES

FRANK G. SPECK

IN THE year 1672 there was entered upon the pages of northern Canadian history the first account of a small but important nation of people dwelling about the shores of the largest lake of the Labrador peninsula, the nation of the Mistassini. The account of this tribe was penned in the words of the Jesuit priest Charles Albanel, who in 1672, under commission from the Governor of Quebec, proceeded overland from the Saguenay river to Lake St. John and thence up the Chamouchouan river to the Height of Land and Lake Mistassini, and down Rupert river to its mouth. Lake St. John had been discovered in 1641 by Jean de Quen, a missionary, and again in 1661 Père Dablon, a Jesuit also, and Sieur de Vallière had passed through the adjacent country in their ascent to Hudson bay, acting under the orders of d'Argenson, then Governor of the province. Albanel, however, was the source of certain information concerning the people and country of the Mistassini, and to him we are indebted for recording facts about a tribe whose position in the territory of the great peninsula is one of significance to the ethnologist. He mentioned a lake so large that it takes 20 days to

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go around it, named from the prodigious rocks that everywhere crop above its surface, and abounding in elk, bear, caribou, porcupine, and beaver. And he caught sight of a lofty peak in the distance which the guide warned him not to look at or he would die, for it would bring a fierce storm over the lake. It was the same priest who induced the Indians of Mistassini, or the Lake of the Great Rock, as the



FIG. 98.—A Mistassini man in European garb at the Lake St. John post.

name signifies, to go to Lake St. John and trade instead of descending to Hudson bay as had been their wont. Finally, he records the name of their chief at the time as Sesibahoura.

The next missionary author to devote attention to the region and its people was Father



FIG. 99.—A Mistassini hunter.

Pierre Laure, who made an illustrious journey into the interior wilderness and gained enough intimacy with the Mistassini Indians to enable him to write some observations of their life and even of their beliefs, which are valid to the letter from every test that can be put to them today. The notes of his journey have been pub-

lished in an obscure pamphlet¹ from which I quote some references to show how little the transit of time has changed the conditions of which he wrote two hundred years ago.

¹ Relation inédite du R. P. Pierre Laure, S.J., 1720 à 1730, par le P. Arthur E. Jones, S.J. *Archives du Collège Ste. Marie*, Montréal, 1889.

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The circumstances by which it became possible to verify such interesting information are as follow: In the winter of 1930 I received advice that the second chief of the Mistassini band of so-called Naskapi had been detained by the fatal sickness of his wife and son at Lake St. John, and was unable to return with his troupe to Lake Mistassini when their annual trading voyage to the post at Lake St. John had been concluded. Realizing that here was an opportunity to record at leisure some much needed information concerning the religion and social life of this little-known band, I framed my

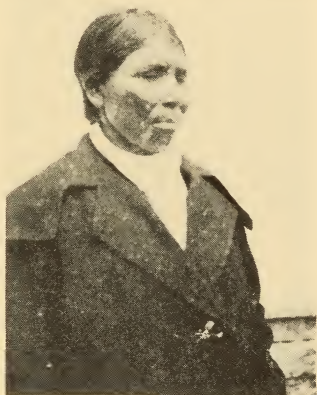


FIG. 100.—The wife of Metowecic, second chief of the Mistassini.

affairs to make the necessary trip to the lake to interview Metowe'cic, with whom I had established friendship some fifteen years before.²

² A study of the distribution of this band and a chart of its habitat showing the locations of its family subdivisions has already appeared. See F. G. Speck, Mistassini Hunting Territories in the Labrador Peninsula, *Amer. Anthr.*, vol. 25, no. 4, 1923.

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FIG. 101.—Mistassini mother and child.



FIG. 102.—Kakwa, a Cree-Mistassini conjuror.

Aside from the religious and social data which drew me to the field, a series of notes on games, utensils, and economic practices were made, and these are to be made available to students of northern ethnology in this short paper. The results of inquiry in the fields of relig-

ion, art, and social organization will be included in a more intensive study now in course of preparation.

Reverting to the facts recorded so long ago by Father Laure, we learn the following: He speaks of a river flowing into Lake St. John in which the Indians found little stones of all shapes that nature seemed to have studiously set about making into models for all the arts: birds, animals, vases, and tools seen in the water and difficult to gather. These same forms are known to the



FIG. 103.—Mistassini woman and child.

present natives, and the river where they are found is still noted. Father Laure said that the Indians called themselves *Michtassini* from a great rock which they held in reverence and where they left some mark of superstitious regard, when near at hand, for the god of good

or bad weather, whom they termed *Tchigigoucheou*,³ who dwelt within the rock. The Mistassini of today hold similar feelings for the rock from which the lake takes its name and which has been described by Low, of the Can-

adian Geological Survey. Furthermore, we recognize in the god's name the form *Tci·ji·gu'ci·u*, meaning "He Walks by Day."



FIG. 104.—Thoma Kakwa, a Cree-Mistassini more than 70 years of age, crippled since early childhood.

Then there is the tale of the deluge. A big canoe was left atop the mountain previously referred to, after the subsidence of waters, watched over by a gigantic god whose name is given as *Merchou*.

This is the name of a mythical being whose name is now pronounced *Mec* (Mesh), figuring in the tale of the deluge recorded last winter. Laure mentions the taboo

³ The names given by Father Laure are of course in French orthography; mine are in the modern phonetic system, *ch* = *c*, *tch* = *tc*.

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against allowing dogs to gnaw on the bones of the caribou, which is still known to them, and the same reason was given then as it applies today, namely, that if the bones of animals are so profaned, the kind of animals to which they belonged cannot be taken afterward by hunters. Another custom he records is that the Mistassini throw into the fire, as an offering to the dead, a portion of the food they are about to eat. I have myself observed the same practice. And Laure goes on to describe a cave of white marble near Lake Wemiskou. He could imagine that



FIG. 105.—A Mistassini mother and her child in a baby-sack.

workmen had cut and polished it. In one corner was a formation of the stone resembling a table, and the Indians told him that it was used as a prayer and council house of the spirits and only conjurors dared enter into it. The same cave was described to me by Metowecic, bearing out all the details of Laure's account, without his



FIG. 106.—A Mistassini encampment at Lake St. John.

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having knowledge that it had ever been seen before by the eyes of a white man except one, a surveyor some years ago, whom we may imagine to have been A. P. Low.

Laure refers to the Mistassini belief in a devil called *Atchene*. In the name we recognize the common name *atce'n'* applied to a cannibal monster. Indeed, as I listened last winter to the descriptions of the country around Lake Mistassini and the imaginary creations of the minds of the people themselves as related by the two chiefs in company, Metowecic of Mistassini and Kurtness of Lake St. John, I could not restrain my mind from thinking of the similarity of the trains of thought that prompted the two narrators, one of two centuries ago, the other of today, in the selection of their topics.

The excellence of Mistassini workmanship in the manufacture of the various articles to which they put their hands is well-known in the north among both Indians and traders. Being beyond the constant and depressing force of European influence as we see it manifested among the tribes whose economic and moral culture has been so deeply undermined by it, and yet within reach of the articles of trade which are essential to the development of their art industries, these Indians have enjoyed an enviable position.

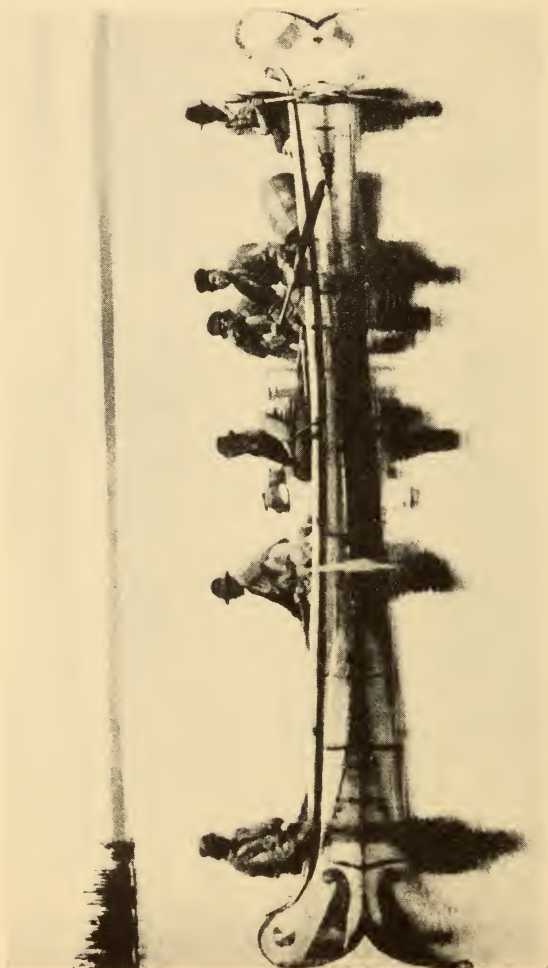


FIG. 107.—Indian canoe on Lake Mistassini. (From *The Canadian Naturalist*, XLII, no. 3, 1928.) Note the enclosed ends and the so-called "frog's leggings" design on the bow.

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The fact is recognized by their neighbors who seldom fail to praise the Mistassini people for their good habits, their honesty and reliability, and their attitude of harmony with the conditions under which they exist as regulated by the Hudson's Bay Company post at Lake Mistassini. (Figs. 98-105.)

Marriage

Although these Indians were at first visited by Jesuit missionaries and no doubt instructed in Catholic observances, they have since become adherents to the Church of England, coming out to their mission at Lake St. John every July to meet their minister. And this difference of faith has had a noteworthy effect on their social conduct as it stands contrasted with that of the Montagnais of Lake St. John with whom they consort at the mission and trading post, and to a certain extent in the bush. For the Mistassini Indians still practise extensively the cross-cousin marriage in the first degree which, according to the evidence of kinship terminology theoretically construed by Hallowell for the north-central Algonkian, is actually reported for the extreme northern Naskapi by Strong. Whereas the Roman missionary priests enforced a strict supervision over the marriage relationships of the

natives and tried to bring about a moral reform among them by drastic measures of penitence for marriage of first cousins, of uncle and niece, and for polygyny. Owing to the non-interference of the Church of England emissaries, these types of marriage are, all but the last, still to be found among the Mistassini. That there is nothing detrimental in them to the natives is apparent in the generally robust and well-favored condition which these Indians, more than the others of neighboring bands, exhibit. The active physical life, a limited food supply, the small population (about 175 souls in the band in 1915 and 281 according to the Canadian census of 1929), and the circumstances of necessity in providing support for families of orphans, for widows and the aged, have produced their effect. In such straits moral issues with them count for nothing as against expedience, and marriage becomes the natural course of procedure in the maintenance of family groups with minimized concern for the degree of relationship involved.

It is illuminating to cite the cases of marriage of the type forbidden by the priests among the Lake St. John Montagnais, who are all Roman converts. The chief of this band, in discussion of the point with me recently, expressed the envy which his people often felt for the liberty per-

mitted by the Protestant teachers to the Mistassini Indians in working out their own system of marriage regulation. The Lake St. John Indians, it seems, are just as much as the others inclined by habit to first-cousin marriage, and also marriage with the sister-in-law after the death of one's wife, but it being forbidden by the priests, they are obliged to make adjustment by obtaining permission to do it and to pay for it. The procedure in their case is rather amusing. Cousins of any classification, or brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law who have decided to link fortunes in marriage, declare in confession to the priest, when they come out of the bush in the spring from their winter hunt, that they have had intercourse during the winter and perhaps that pregnancy is imminent. The good priest then declares that to rectify the evil they will have to become married, but that to do so the bishop's consent must be obtained. The rule there is that such permission costs twenty-five dollars. The priest agrees to write the bishop, whereupon he takes the fee. Soon after he announces that the permission has been accorded and the hoped-for union is solemnized to the moral satisfaction of all. The sequel, however, is the amusing element in this account of the moral regulation of the Indians. For it happens that the chief

himself was postmaster at the Indian village and mission, his name Joseph Kurtness, and knowing the circumstances involved in the matings of his people, observed neither outgoing nor incoming mail addressed to the bishop or to the priest during the period of consideration. More amusing and significant to the ethnologist is the laconic observation of the chief that the parties concerned had more than once betrayed the fact that they had not actually indulged in the intercourse to which they had confessed, but had used the pretext as a means to achieve the object of their desire, namely, immunity from heavenly vengeance.

In the preceding paragraphs I have mentioned the marriage liberties among kin of the Mistassini band in contrast with those of the Lake St. John Indians. The evidence of the kinship terminologies themselves is required to demonstrate their system, and this will be published separately.

Turning from historical retrospects to the notes on topics of economic life and specimens of articles used by the Mistassini Indians, which types have a wide distribution over the subarctic regions, we approach the subject of games, in which Metowecic manifested a lively personal interest.

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Games and Amusements

The amusements of children are considered to be of magic significance. From the Mistassini, among some families of whom I had occasion to spend a few days in the winter of 1930, I recorded observations illustrative of these notions.

Game of "Caribou-hunt."—For children to show a desire to play games in the fall before the main winter hunt, either purely for pastime or for divination, is a lucky sign. On the other hand, if children do not seek pastime with games or toys, it is a bad sign for the coming season. Little girls, for instance, who make dolls of wood and dress them with pieces of cast-off skin, rags, or fur, are prognosticating for themselves a happy and fruitful future as mothers. Again, if the boys make bows and arrows and seem eager to play at hunting, the sign is favorable for a lucky winter. And so the game of "caribou-hunt" may be mentioned as one of particular import. In this a toy herd of small caribou is made, each figure about eight inches in length. The caribou are made from a splint of birch to form the body, neck, head, tail, and antlers from the one piece by splitting, bending, and shaving until by the clever use of eye and knife a remarkably suggestive creation results: one which, while out of proportion, is un-

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mistakable for the great game animal of the north. A series of these figures represents the game to be looked for. Instead, however, of using a toy bow and arrow with which to shoot them, the child players use a snapping stick of spruce by which they propel tiny shot formed by biting off the end of a flat sliver of the same wood.

The snap-stick is bent back with the forefinger and thumb of the left hand, which at the same time hold the wooden bullet against the snap-stick. The missile is then violently snapped at the figures. To knock some down portends well for the boy's father during the caribou-hunting season, and at the same time is thought to develop the boy's hunting power while he is growing up. This play is called *taci·packwu'ni·gan*, "pulling and letting go."

"*Hare-hunt*" *Game*.—Again we learn of a children's pastime by which an effect is produced on the hares, inducing them to come to the snares set for their capture. This game is the "hare-hunt," *wa'puco'kana'n*. I learned from the second chief of the Mistassini that this magic pastime is usually reserved for that precarious time of the year, toward the end of winter usually, when other game has become scarce and when the remote families are reduced to a diet



FIG. 108.—The hare-trapping game. The upper figure shows the beginning of the set-up, the snares in place. In the lower figure the "hares" have been set in place and the bases ignited. The little girl is catching one about to fall.

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of hare meat, the least nourishing food and the last to be resorted to when famine is imminent. The father of the family then makes the articles needed for the game and the children are encouraged to play it to bring the hares as victims to the snares that the starving-time may be tided over until better meat may be procured. The articles called for are a series of split birch sticks, called "snares," and an equal number of "hares" (shown set up in the proper positions in fig. 108) whittled out of cedar sharpened at both ends, with a circle of "curls" made by shavings turned back near the bottom of the sticks. Now the sticks to serve as "snares," one intended for each child who is to play, are set up in the ground in a circle outside the tent. The diameter of this circle is usually about twelve or fourteen inches. Inside the circle of "snares," the sticks called "hares" are set in a tight cluster, the parts with shavings at the bottom near the ground. One of the "hares" in this group is meant to be game for each child playing, the number being the same as that of the "snares." Next a small piece of meat, or bread if no meat is to be had, is impaled on the pointed upper end of each "hare" stick. And now with a few shreds of birch-bark as kindling, the shavings at the bottom of the

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"hare" sticks are lighted and the fun commences. With a puff and a flare the shavings burn, the "hare" sticks burn through, and one after another fall with their tiny burdens of meat or bread on their points. Each time that one falls afoul of one of the branched sticks called "snares" in the encircling fence, it is a catch for the child opposite it, and with a yelp the always hungry urchin snatches the prize of meat or bread from its point and eats it. That is his "hare." Those "hares" which, when their bases are burned through, fall clear of the "snares," have to be played again, and so on until the children are satisfied with their luck, or the tidbits of meat or bread are exhausted (see fig. 108).

"Otter-hunt" Game.—The otter-hunt is another divination game learned of among the Mistassini. The procedure is for the hunter to make four bundles, each about five inches long, of cedar twigs tied with babiche or thread which he calls "otters." Setting these side by side as targets, he stands about six feet away and with a small bow (about twelve inches long) and arrows, attempts to hit one after the other of the "otters." The number of "otters" hit is the answer to the question, "How many will I kill on my next hunt?" Should he hit one of them

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with an arrow, he uses the same arrow for the next shot—this being the lucky arrow. The Mistassini call this *papi-matchkwa'n*, "shooting otter" (see fig. 109). The arrow release for the toy bow is the primary, but in shooting with a large bow it is the Mediterranean.



FIG. 109.—The otter-hunt game.

Cedar-bundle Game.—Catching the bundle of cedar twigs on the end of a sharpened stick attached to the bundle by a string is a game noted for every tribe and band of northern Algonkian, as one associated with the idea of increasing one's luck in hunting. Beneath the idea of luck itself may lay that of giving practice

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to the eye and hand in the manipulation of the thrusting spear in attacking animals. The Mistassini, as well as all the Naskapi and Montagnais bands, play the cedar bundle as a substitute for the more elaborate device in which caribou metacarpal bones hollowed to articulate into one another and strung on a thong, are the objects to be impaled by the sharpened stick or bone—a form of “cup and pin.” The Mistassini call this game *tap'hatəwa'n*.

Wedge Game.—The wedge game, called *kwackwehi·gan*, “knock-jump-high,” is a contest pastime having no magical significance. I have heard of it only among the Mistassini, but this does not imply its absence in other groups. A small wedge of birch is inserted in a cleft in a birch log stood upon its end. With the poll or head of an iron ax the side of the log is struck a sharp blow just outside of where the wedge is set, and the effect is to send the wedge high into the air like a shot. Different men try their skill and strength at sending the wedge aloft until they have proved the winner to the satisfaction of all.

European Games.—The button game, called in Mistassini *mi·'ck·^wtcəpəta'gan*, “change-bring,” is a trial of skill, and one that is evidently of introduction to the northern Indians from Euro-

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pean sailors and whalers, either directly or through the medium of the Eskimo. On a bar of wood a looped string or thong supports two buttons, separated by the middle attachment of the string passing through the bar, being divided into two loops, each holding a button. The object of the test is to transfer one button to the loop with the other. The device is known from one end of the region to the other, the specimens from the Barren Ground band being made of bone, but all others of wood (Mistassini, Lake St. John, Seven Islands).

The six-barred cross puzzle, also of unquestionable European origin, was introduced by some means in an earlier period to the Mistassini, if not to other bands of Indians in the north. Despite its European character, the Mistassini have given the puzzle their own interpretation, calling it *mici'p'ciu*, "great lion, panther." When desiring to test one another, they will say, "Can you untie the great lion and tie him up again?" To accomplish the separation of the six notched and fitted segments of this puzzle is proof of one's claim to be strong and clever. The puzzle, however, has not become identified with divinatory or magical practice.

Drawing Lots with Sticks.—A device employed by the young for determining the identity of

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one who has been guilty of this or that action, whether serious or not, is the following, which might even assume the dimensions of a minor ordeal by drawing lots. A bundle of ten small smooth sticks about an inch and a half in length, among which is one of twice the usual length, is provided. The long stick is called *mahi'kan*, "wolf." The sticks are grouped so that they all appear equal as seen from above, the long one projecting underneath. These sticks are held in the hand of the person applying the test. When the sticks are drawn from the bundle by those accused, that individual drawing the long stick is declared guilty. Drawing lots is called *ma'hikana'tuk^{ew}*, "wolf sticks."

Tops.—The spinning top, so widespread among Algonkian peoples, is likewise reported present among the Mistassini. Here it forms a pastime of children with an element of play-divination involved. When the top (which is a simple wooden disc with a sharpened stick running through its center) comes to a stop, they observe the child toward whom the top of the stick points as the one indicated to be answered in respect to the question put to it. When spinning, they also say, "See how well my father can dance," or "See if my mother can dance," and so on, to cause amusement.

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Heart Sticking.—Another method of play, leading at the same time to the determination of luck, is "heart sticking." When the carcass of a hare or a marten is being spitted whole before the fire, children take sharp sticks and try to spear the heart of the animal to see who will have luck, those who strike its heart being considered "chancy," as the northern voyageurs term it.

Stone Slings.—Whatever the function of the stone-slinger may have been in former times among the northern tribes, as well as elsewhere in the world, it is true that in recent times this weapon has declined to the position of an amusement. The Mistassini know both the leather sling and the wooden handle sling. Both are termed *wep'ha'ckwan*, "slinger." The leather sling is of moose-skin, the thongs about 30 inches long and the holder a perforated oval 4 inches by 1 inch. It corresponds to the universal David's sling, and the pebbles used are about the size of marbles. The stick sling is a piece of cedar 26 inches long, with a groove near the outer end into which the side of the stone is set, the stone being held in place by a loop formed of two knots in the doubled babiche string that is held taut by the thumb or forefinger crooked through a loop at its lower end.

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The throwing-stick is evident in this weapon, and I might suggest that in this we have the modern survival among the Indians of the spear-thrower encountered among the Eskimo. The flat stone is hurled with some force with the stick, and we are told that birds may thus be killed.

Jay Snare.—Among the minor hunting and trapping practices which the northern Indians employ to supplement their food resources during famine time is the snare for capturing the whisky-jack or Canada jay (*Perisoreus canadensis*), a bird whose fondness for meat and fearlessness of man give him a peculiar place in the category of animals of the northern forests.

Ordinarily the jay is not molested, as it is thought that he is the friend of the other animals and birds, putting away food in crevices and crannies for them, and at the same time a watcher for the whereabouts of game in behalf of the hungry hunter, sounding his signals to tell him where

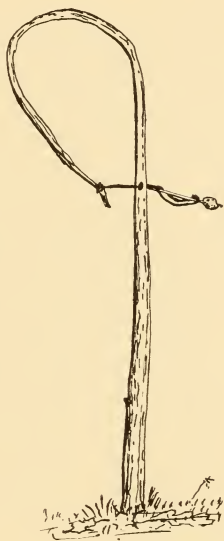


FIG. 110.—Snare for Canada jay, showing bait-stick and loop.

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moose are. Yet this esteem for the bird does not keep him from the cooking-pot when starvation is imminent. The snare (fig. 110) is a loop of string or hide laid loosely upon a stick to which a piece of meat is fastened at the end, the stick wedged tightly enough into a hole in the upright of a bent-over sapling-spring to hold the spring line until it is worked loose by the bird tugging at the bait, to cause the line to snap around the bird's feet and hold it fast. I have not seen descriptions of this device for jays before, so the notation that it has been collected from the Mistassini, the Lake St. John, and the Barren Ground bands will place it on record.

Containers

Containers for Grease and Oil.—The Mistassini employ the following parts of animals for making grease and oil containers (*wi·'kwi·*): the bear's bladder (as do also the Barren Ground Naskapi), the caribou esophagus (generally known in the peninsula), sections of the intestinal tubes of animals, and also the entire skins of fish, especially the sucker, of which a specimen was obtained. In this, the head being removed, the neck opening is closed with a wooden disc, about the border of which the skin is wrapped

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and bound with thread into a groove. The vent is similarly closed with a smaller plug, these being termed *tcipkwi·ya'gən*. They are effective and non-leakable receptacles, resembling the



FIG. III.—Birch-bark storage basket decorated with etched designs. Length, 14 inches. (16/2545)

plugged-skin containers of the Eskimo. The bands on the coasts of the peninsula, it may be added, made similar containers, more often of seal stomachs, and closed them shut with a tie-fastening instead of the grooved plug.

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Birch-bark Containers and Eating Utensils.—The birch-bark containers of the Mistassini are of exceptionally neat and well-finished construc-



FIG. 112.—Birch-bark box with cover; oval shape. Length, $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches; height, $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches. (15/3284)

tion (figs. 111–116). The trunks made for the storage of women's work materials are of the type illustrated and are decorated with etching in

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broad large figures of the character shown. They are called *bustci·a'gən*, "something to put something in." The eating trays or dishes of this band have a peculiarity of contour not seen in those of other bands so far investigated.

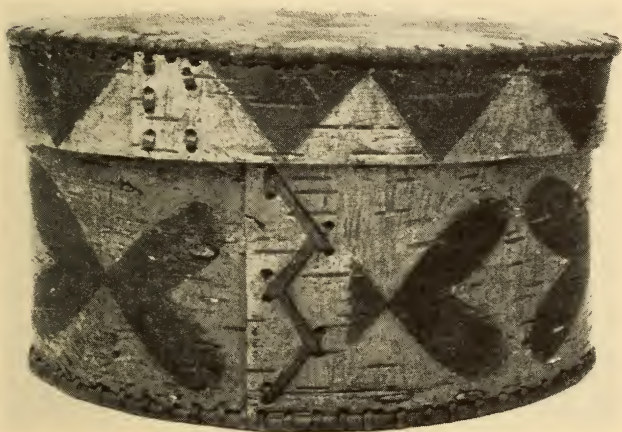


FIG. 113.—Another view of the birch-bark box shown in fig. 112.

The ends flare upward, giving the utensil something of the appearance of a canoe. These trays, called *wi·ya'gən*, "dish," have the spruce-root bindings stained in several colors for decorative effect, and in addition possess the ceremonial decoration of groups of five red-painted dots, one

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in the center and one at each of the four cardinal points. The particular significance of this emblem lies in its being known as *tceka'cəko pi'cəma'*,

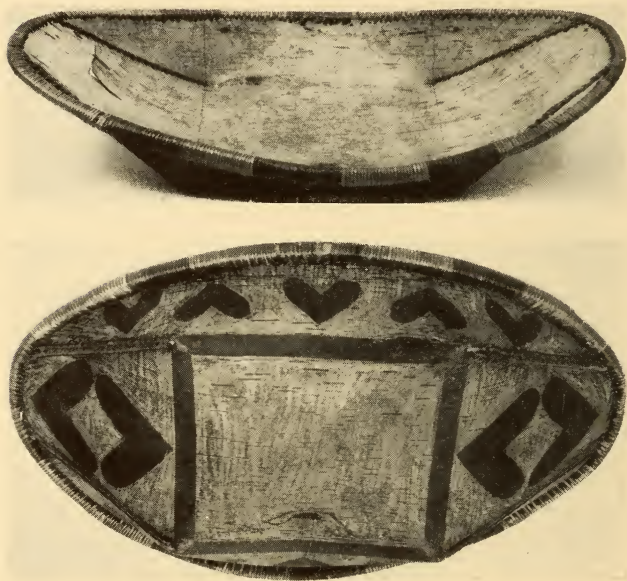


FIG. 114.—Birch-bark food tray (*wi-yàgən*) used by a hunter when eating game, especially beaver, killed after receiving a dream admonition. Side and bottom views showing decoration. Length, $23\frac{1}{2}$ inches. (15/3283)

“sun-illumination,” by which is meant the spots of light cast upon the earth by the sun shining through a canopy of thick clouds. The Mis-

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tassini conceive this beautiful and impressive phenomenon of nature to be a revelation from *Ketci·manitu'*, "Great Spirit,"⁴ to the hunter, betraying to him the whereabouts of game. To see this manifestation of nature, either in reality

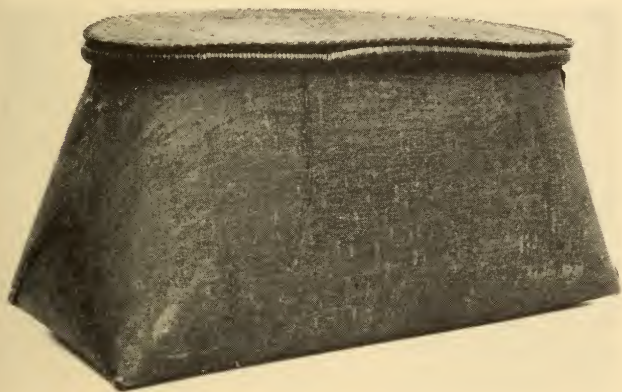


FIG. 115.—Birch-bark storage basket. Length, 23 inches.
(15/3285)

or in a dream, is a blessing for which the devout and observant native is always yearning.

It is not, however, the purpose of the present paper to give in detail the rich properties of Mistassini religious belief, which are to be re-

⁴ This term is not in the dialect of Mistassini, but in that of the Moose Factory Cree, from whom it is derived through the introduction of the Cree gospels and syllabary.

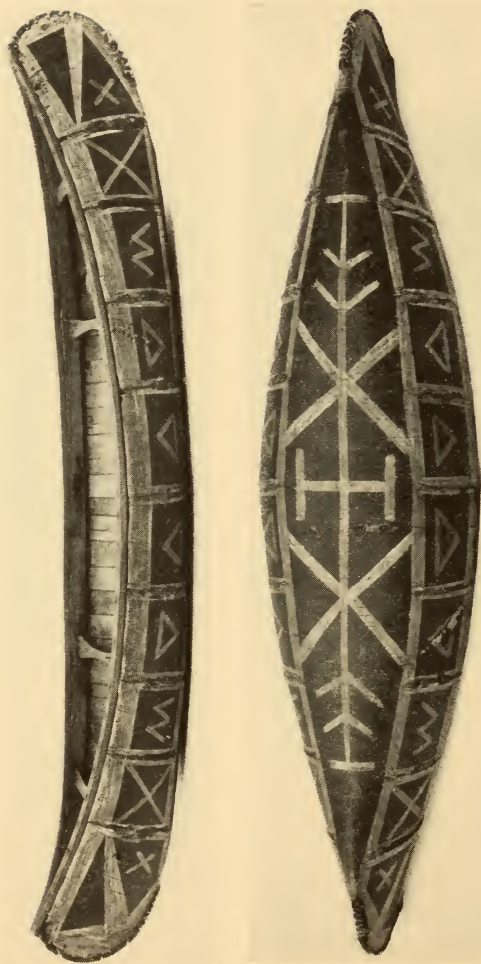


FIG. 116.—Model of birch-bark canoe. Views of side and bottom. Length, $30\frac{1}{2}$ inches.
(15/3282)

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ferred to only as occasion arises in connection with objects of material culture.

The food dishes (fig. 117), constructed to serve a family consisting of man, wife, a son and a daughter, are made of birch wood cut out with a crooked knife and tanned red with a dye of red willow bark steeped in hot water. The staining is also said to prevent splitting and to facilitate cleaning. The food dish is called *wi·a'c yagə'n*, "meat dish." The large round one is for the father, the smaller round one for his son, the large oval one for the wife, and a small oval one is used by the daughter. A generation ago, when the Mistassini were more observant of their religious taboos, the members of the family were careful not to eat from the receptacles of others, each person using his own dish, knife, and spoon (figs. 118, 119, *a*, *b*), lest sickness be caused by the transfer of utensils. Spoons were made not only of wood, but also of the scapulæ of the bear, *wutuk'wəne' əmkwa'n*, "shoulder-blade spoon." They think that the bone spoon is better for individual use, but the material not being so plentiful, they employ those of wood. The Mistassini use spoons of different proportions for different purposes. The long-handled narrow-bowl spoon, which incidentally is similar to the European ladle, is said to be an old Mis-



FIG. 117.—*a*, Wooden eating bowl, length 12¼ inches; *b*, *c*, Individual dishes; *a* for female, *b*, *c*, for males. (17/5955-5957)

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tassini type, remembered to have been made and used by the grandfather of Metowecic, and is also



FIG. 118.—Wooden spoons for eating various foods: *a*, for individual dishes; *b*, for eating fish (length, $12\frac{1}{8}$ inches); *c*, for eating grease; *d*, child's spoon. (17/5959, 17/5954, 10/1341, 16/2546)

forthcoming from other bands of the Montagnais-Naskapi at Nataskwan and the Barren Grounds. The short-handled, broad, flat-bladed spoon (fig.

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118, *c*) with the handle cut at a sharp angle to the bowl, is the common form of spoon in the Labrador peninsula and is employed primarily in



FIG. 119.—*a*, *b*, Caribou-rib eating knives (10/5960);
c, Moose leg-bone harpoon, $9\frac{1}{4}$ inches long (17/5948);
d, Moose-bone hide-scraper (17/5947)

eating grease. These spoons are always stained a dark hue with a dye of pine-bark (*Pinus banksiana*). The other type of spoon illustrated is known as *name'c uctagwa'n amkwa'n*, "fish-

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head spoon," and is intended for use in eating fish (fig. 118, *b*). These distinctions of use are akin to religious observance among the Montagnais-Naskapi. The eating knives (fig. 119, *a*, *b*) have each a wooden handle and a caribou-rib blade (*mi·'tcowi·yagən*, "eating utensil"), and are illustrative of a former period in the economy of the Mistassini. On these eating utensils the notches carved in the handles are property-marks to prevent their use by others.

The tibia of the moose also provides material for the making of the "big knife," *mictəkoma'n*, which was used originally for general purposes of cutting leather and butchering, as well as serving as a stiletto, as tradition tells us.

Among other interesting memories recalled by Metowecic of old customs of his people when far away from the materials needed in the manufacture of regular utensils, was the practice of one very old hunter of the band to eat grease by means of a small bunch of feathers tied together. These he dipped into the grease, then pulled through his mouth—the feather spoon, *notapwe'o mi·'kwən*. He had seen also some hunters in the remote bush use the hind-leg of a hare for washing the face, dipping the thick fur of the heel into warm water, then rubbing it

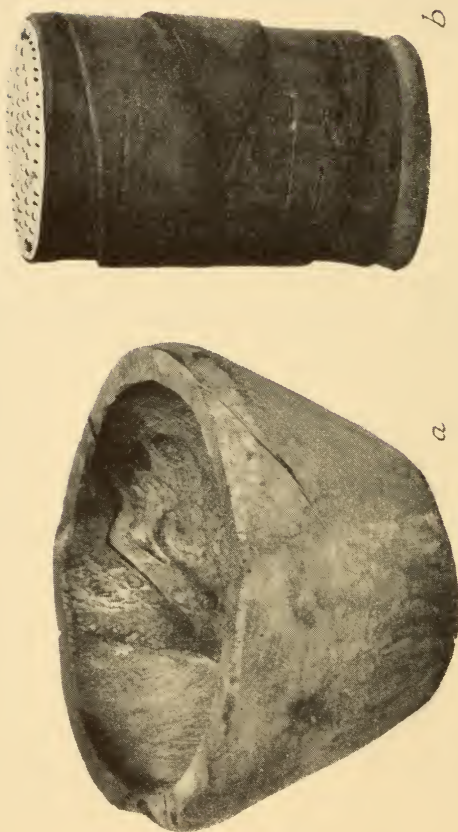


FIG. 120.—*a*, Birch-knot drinking-cup; *b*, Birch-bark match-box, $3\frac{3}{8}$ inches high.
(16/9783, 9782)

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over the skin to remove the accumulation of grease and sweat.

The household equipment of the informant included a drinking-cup made of a birch knot, *p'kwa'ckwut' wi·ya'gən*, "lump dish" (fig. 120, *a*).

Specimens of these simple utensils from the Mistassini, obtained from Metowecic, were sent to the National Museum of Denmark.

Bone Implements

Among the Montagnais-Naskapi the leg-bone of the bear is the usual material desired for the manufacture of the scraper or flesher (fig. 121, *c*) used in dressing beaver- and otter-skins. The general name for the object is *mitsəkwu'n*, a term which denotes that the tool is used on the thigh, upon which the skin is laid while it is being scraped. As is customary with these tools, so closely connected with the sources of life, the scraper of bear leg-bone has ceremonial associations and the decoration in carving and perforation found on it among the southern tribes of the peninsula is done in response to dream motives. (See also fig. 119, *d*.)

The moose tibia harpoon (fig. 119, *c*) obtained from Metowecic has two opposed barbs crudely cut in the sides, and a hole for its firm attachment

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to the shaft. It is called *ana'tu'i* and is employed in transfixing the beaver and also large fish.



FIG. 121.—Bone utensils: *a*, snowshoe needle; *b*, snowshoe mesh evener (length, $7\frac{5}{8}$ inches); *c*, bear-bone hide-scraper; *d*, beaver-mandible scraping knife. (16/9778, 9779, 9785, 9777)

Specimens of the snowshoe netting needle (*ama'kwα*) and the pointed mesh evener

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(*wawe'yapekai·'kani·*, "evening tool"), made of bear bones, were secured from the outfit of Metowecic (fig. 121, *a*, *b*). His equipment also included the lower mandible of a beaver (fig. 121, *d*), which he retained as a trimming knife, following a primitive practice which has been referred to frequently in ethnological literature dealing with the northern peoples.

Dress and Ornament

The Mistassini have not retained the habit of dressing in skin clothing within the memory of Metowecic, who is about fifty years of age. The reason for this is the long period over which trading operations have been carried on at Lake Mistassini, the first trading establishment having been founded there by the French about 1690. Aside from the general wearing of caribou- and moose-skin moccasins decorated with silk embroidery, and the occasional part-garment of skin or fur in winter, this band is clothed in garments made of commercial stuff, of which the black broadcloth leggings trimmed with silk and a border of white beads is typical (fig. 122). Hare-skin coats with hoods, leggings, women's dresses, caps, mittens, socks, and wrist and neck bands to keep out the cold, are all known and

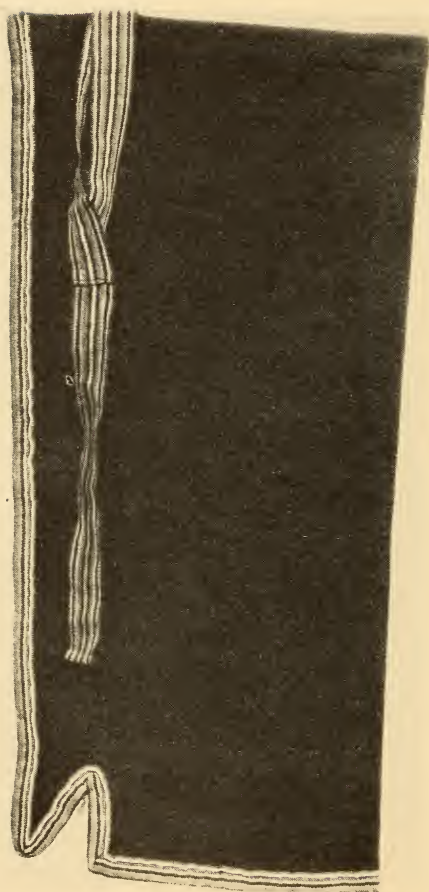


FIG. 122.—Man's black cloth legging. Length, $24\frac{3}{4}$ inches. (16/9770)

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used. These and the large blankets or robes of the same material are woven or knitted upon a rectangular frame by the simple loop stitch.

The strips used in knitting them are made by cutting the hare- (or rabbit-) skins, while fresh and wet, into one continuous length, being cut spirally from tail to neck. To do this the skin is ripped from the animal's body from head to tail in one entire piece. The head is held by the wife while another woman, or the husband

since the men engage in it also, cuts the skin into a single strip while turning it. The strips are then tied together to form a long line. The line is then twisted by using a spindle-stick (*pi·mpa be'khigan*, "twisting tool"), notched at one end



FIG. 123.—Girl in Mistassini separate sleeve cloth dress.

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to hold the end of the skin line, with a bag of sand as a weight at the lower end. The spindle-stick is twirled between the hands and winds up the line of hare-skin into a twisted cord, as it is

suspended over a rope to keep it from becoming tangled. For making the Mistassini hare-skin blanket one hundred skins are required.

The woman's dress among the Cree, Saulteaux, Ojibwa, and Naskapi of the early part of the last cen-



FIG. 124.—Girl in Mistassini separate sleeve cloth dress.

tury, as described in the old accounts, consisted of a lower garment reaching from the shoulders or breast to the ankles, supported from the shoulders by thongs and laced or sewed at one

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side. Separate sleeves were tied across the shoulders by a thong. This type of dress had a wide distribution over the northern zone, with some variations, of course, in its details of pattern among the different Indian tribes. Inquiry on this interesting point among the Mistassini women who had descended to Lake St. John some years ago, disclosed the fact that until a few years ago such dresses were occasionally made and worn by them at the lake where they dwelt. A

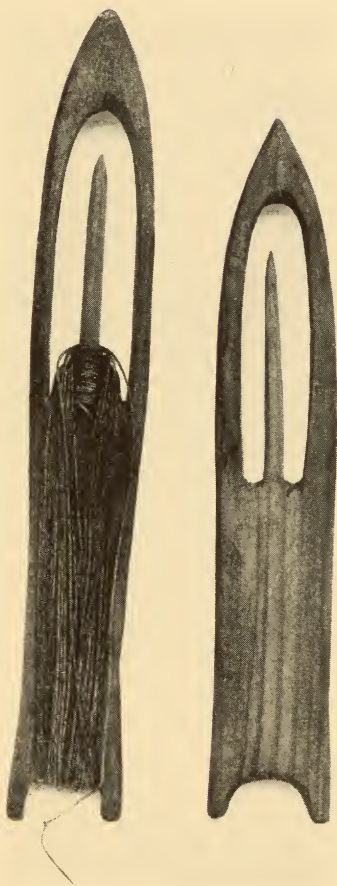


FIG. 125.—Wooden netting needles. Length of the longer, $8\frac{3}{16}$ inches. (10/1339)

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costume of the sort was made by one of them out of blue cloth hemmed with green braid. It consisted of the dress proper supported from the shoulders, with open arm-spaces. It was cut square across the throat in front and the same behind. The separate sleeves were wide

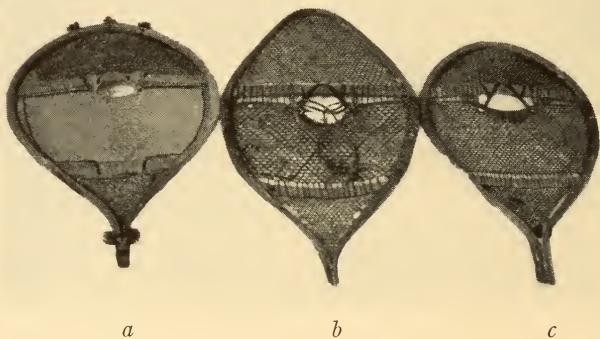


FIG. 126.—Types of men's snowshoes from three neighboring tribes of southern Labrador peninsula. *a*, Mistassini; *b*, Tête de Boule; *c*, Lake St. John.

at the shoulder and overlapped the arm-spaces of the garment, being held in place by a thong across the shoulders at the back where they nearly met. They were sewed together half-way down, and narrower at the cuffs. The leggings reached from the ankle to a little above the knees and had a lateral flap about an inch in width. A breech-band of the same material, and a

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girdle about the waist, completed the costume. Photographs of a young woman wearing this dress, taken at the time, are shown in figs. 123, 124. In the Mistassini dialect the woman's dress is called *änæckəma'wən*.

Snowshoes are of the broad short type (fig. 126, *a*), while the smaller willow-bark snowshoe netted on a crude wooden frame of unpeeled branches is used as a makeshift.

AN ABORIGINAL CHERT QUARRY IN NORTHERN VERMONT

REGINALD PELHAM BOLTON

AT THE courteous invitation of Mr. L. B. Truax, the veteran archeologist of the upper Vermont region, and accompanied by his associate, Mr. Benjamin Fisher, I was enabled to visit the extensive deposit and quarry of chert in the vicinity of St. Albans, which was referred to in my article on "Indian Remains in Northern Vermont."¹

The explanations of the two explorers and their intimate acquaintance with local aboriginal conditions afforded an unequalled opportunity for

¹ *Indian Notes*, vol. VII, no. 1, pp. 60-61, January, 1930.

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understanding the significance of the circumstances under which the quarry was worked by natives.

The outcrop of chert occurs between beds of slate in a low ridge extending north and south

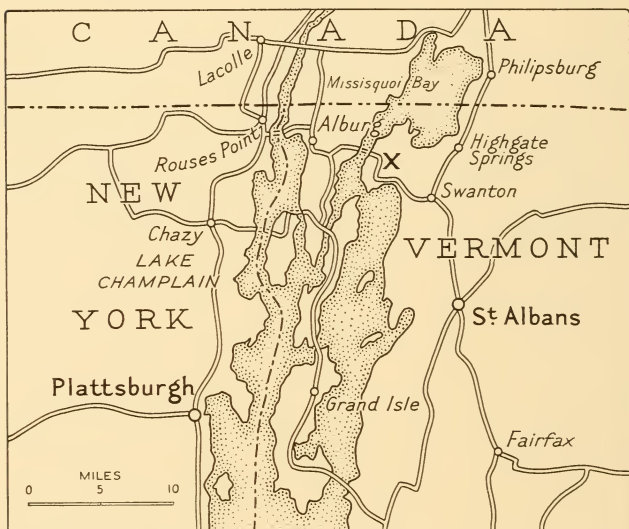


FIG. 127.—Map showing (at X) the location of the quarry site.

for more than a mile across meadow lands bordering Lake Champlain, and it evidently continues under the bed of the lake, for it makes a reappearance on some of the nearby islands.

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The chert in its original bed where it is not exposed to the atmosphere or where it has been buried under the soil, is dark in color, but where it is exposed it has become lighter and on long exposure has hardened and has become a whitish gray.

Along this ridge for a distance of about three-fifths of a mile an immense amount of work was done in aboriginal times in undercutting the projections of chert and removing the slate which had overlaid the irregular course of the vein. Large quantities of slate have been cast away in heaps sloping from both sides of the ridge. Here and there pits are to be traced, now nearly filled with washed-in *débris*. These seem to have been dug down on some exposure of the chert, which in some places shows its fracture by blows which have been delivered from above. The method thus employed is demonstrated by many heavy hammerstones which are to be seen around the working places, consisting of boulders or field stones, showing signs of their use, grooved, cut, and spalled on one end. Several of these were found to be pecked on the sides so as to afford a grip by the hands, and others are slightly grooved around the middle, evidently for the attachment of a handle.

The fractured rock in spalls and splinters is

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scattered widely all along the ridge. Fragments and blocks of chert were observed in plowed fields near by, and others were seen on the margin of the lake half a mile away, some of which may have been spilled or dropped during their transportation to the water, while others have been subjected to reworking.



FIG. 128.—The outcrop of weathered chert on the ridge worked by Indians.

There are indications of intermittent mining of the vein. In some places masses of quarried slate have buried previous excavations. Old weathered exposures have been reopened, attacked, and broken. But the operations along the quarry were not confined to the extraction of blocks of the stone. In a number of places there are abundant remains of the process of flaking the material into definite shapes. Such

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areas are covered with flakes and spalls, and among them are easily distinguished the forms of the objects which the ancient workers were developing.

These were leaf-shape blades of varying sizes, many of which in complete or almost perfect form have been found by my genial guides, and numbers of them more or less defective are still scattered on the ridge and around the vicinity.

Nor are there lacking evidences of the method by which this part of the work was accomplished. The crude tools found with the roughed-out blades show that the system employed was flaking by percussion. Hammerstones bearing marks of use are easily found, as well as lap-stones and hand-stones, both being of softer kinds of fieldstone. Some of the lap-stones have been deeply scored by the material which was held on edge upon their surfaces. The same indications are visible on some of the little split pebbles which are neatly suited to be held in the palm of the hand to receive the blow of the hammerstones.

Careful examination of all parts of the work failed to disclose any signs of the use of fire. From evidences we may judge how the work proceeded. The workmen labored hard at the strenuous work of exposing and undercutting

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the vein, while others raked away the soil, the spalls, and the chips with rude hoe-shape imple-



FIG. 129.—Method of flaking the blanks. Hammerstone poised; blank held on palm-stone.

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ments made of the chert, of which several were found in broken condition.

The quarrymen then with the heavy mauls and boulders pounded off large fragments of the exposed vein of chert which others carried over to the working places where the flaking and shaping process was carried on. Seated on the ground, each with a large flat-topped stone in his lap, these workers roughed out the blocks into desired shapes. These were then passed to other workers who, with a split stone in one hand, struck the edges with small hammer-stones, reducing the blocks to the desired leaf-shape. They cast away such of the partly-formed blades as developed flaws or showed the existence of veins or inferior material, which castaway objects, with thousands of flakes, piled up around them. For the greater part these rejects and a number of apparently perfect productions have lain buried under the accumulation of wastage, and thus retain their original color, while those which happened to be exposed on the surface have weathered to a depth greatly varying in many specimens. This depth of weathering indicates some relative age of the worked specimens, and taken into consideration with the extent of the operations of quarrying and the irregular development of the quarry,

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may indicate successive workings of the quarry over long intervals of time.

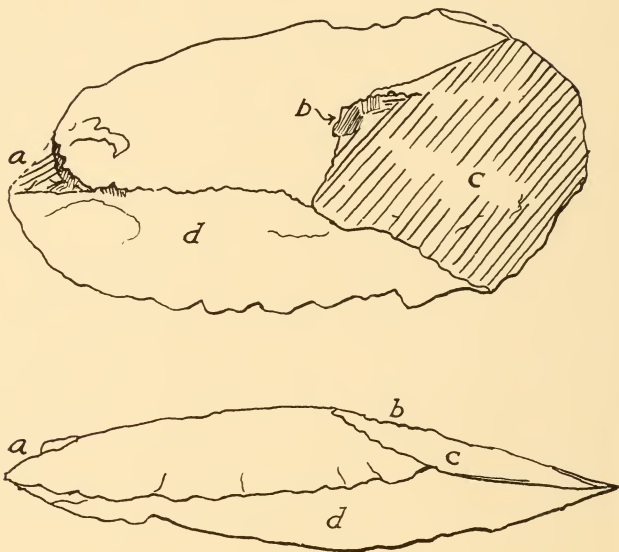


FIG. 130.—Leaf-shape blank. When first shaped this blank developed old defect *a*, and the blank was discarded with side *a-b* upward, whereby the upper side became weathered and encrusted with a rusty scale. Long afterward it was picked up and a new flaking was made at the end, *c*, but this revealed another defect at *b*. It was again cast aside, this time with the side *d* upward, and new flaked surface *c* downward. ($\frac{3}{4}$ actual size)

At the foot of the slope of quarry debris the explorers reported some places where chips and

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flakes indicated that some of the rough leaf-shape blades had been reworked and shaped, but over the quarried area such reflaking or secondary chipping of the quarried product is not apparent.

The story of the quarry presents itself as a record of systematic and laborious effort to secure a supply of the coveted material. Its output was mainly in roughly blocked-out, leaf-shape objects, all of one general form, which is indicative of a trading purpose. A number of these were purposely buried and many were found by Mr. Truax in a large cache in a nearby place. These may have been hidden in fear of an attack by other tribes, or more probably were buried to keep them from weathering and hardening. Whatever was done with these blades does not appear on the quarry site. They were evidently traded away or carried elsewhere for the purpose of being reworked into other desired forms.

The possession of such a source of supply must have been of immense and practical value to the Indians who controlled this site. May we not read in that conclusion a possible cause of some of the tribal conflicts which afflicted the natives of this region?

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PERUVIAN GOLD AND GOLD PLATING

WILLIAM C. ORCHARD

RECENTLY, while examining gold objects in the Museum's collections from Peru and from other regions, a gentleman well known in the field of zoölogy presented two rather puzzling and interesting questions: How much may the stories of the Spanish conquest of Peru be discounted in their descriptions of the vast quantities of gold and silver found in possession of the natives? and, Did they value their precious metals much as they are valued today?

The first question cannot be definitely answered, for there are as yet no positive means of determining the quantities of precious metals that found their way to Spain or what became of the portions that passed into other channels. Most of the gold was found in the form of ornaments, household utensils, and temple furnishings. According to early descriptions the domes of temples were coated with gold and their floors were tiled with it. Many of the objects were described as exquisite works of art; but as they were valued by the Spaniards only as gold, they were ruthlessly melted and cast into ingots.

An interesting item regarding the quantity of

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gold taken by the Spaniards is found in the writings of Pedro Sancho.¹ In the first chapters of this work he tells of an accumulation of gold valued at two and a half million pesos, "which, on being refined to pure gold, came to one million, three hundred and twenty-odd thousand pesos." Mr. Means states that at that time the peso was the equivalent of about an ounce. The usual royal fifth of this went to Spain; the remainder was proportionately divided among the "soldiers and companions of the Governor." In the same account are vivid descriptions of the many ornaments and other objects of gold and silver. Sancho² says: "And among other very sightly things were four sheep [llamas] in fine gold and very large, and ten or twelve figures of women of the size of the women of that land, all of fine gold and as beautiful and well-made as if they were alive. These they held in as much veneration as if they had been the rulers of all the world, and alive [as well], and they dressed them in beautiful and fine clothing, and they adored them as goddesses, and gave them food

¹ An Account of the Conquest of Peru written by Pedro Sancho, Secretary to Pizarro, translated by Philip Ainsworth Means. Published by the Cortes Society, New York, 1917.

² Ibid., chap. XIV, p. 129.

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and talked with them as if they were women of flesh."

Further information on the quantity of Peruvian gold is afforded by Prescott,³ who records that Atahualpa was held in captivity by Pizarro, and to obtain his freedom, he offered, as a ransom, to fill with gold ornaments a chamber about 17 feet wide by 22 feet long, and as high as a man could reach, about 9 feet. Additional data as to quantity are given by Garcilasso de la Vega,⁴ who states that the Incas imitated trees, flowers, birds, and animals for their gardens, each "placed in the position that would appear most natural. In most, if not all the houses, there were baths, consisting of great jars of gold and silver, in which they washed, with pipes of the same metals for bringing the water. . . . Among other magnificent ornaments they had piles and heaps of firewood, all imitated in gold and silver, and placed just as if they were intended for the service of the house. The Indians buried most of these treasures as soon as they saw how the Spaniards thirsted for them. . . . If all the gold that is buried in Peru, and in these countries, were collected, it

³ *Conquest of Peru*, vol. 1, p. 422, Philadelphia, 1877.

⁴ *The Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, translated by Clements R. Markham, vol. II, pp. 102-104, London, Hakluyt Society, 1871.

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would be impossible to count it, so great would be the quantity, and the Spaniards have got little compared with what remains.”^{4a}

Ornaments and utensils of silver were in profusion, and included in the collections of Peruvian objects of today are some remarkable examples of exquisite workmanship in that metal. Pedro Sancho⁵ made the remarkable statement that the conquerors “encamped at a town in the houses of which was found much silver in large slabs twenty feet long, one broad, and one or two fingers thick.” Other early accounts tell the same story as to the astounding quantities of gold and silver which the Incas possessed.

There is a possibility that the Spanish chroniclers may have exaggerated their descriptions of the precious metals which they saw, but this is no more than natural when we consider the gorgeous sight that met the eyes of the Spaniards when they first saw the Peruvians adorned in their marvelous costumes, made further resplendent by their glittering gold ornaments, not to mention the temple furnishings and the household utensils and decorations. How much the accounts may be discounted may still be an

^{4a} As this article is going to press, dispatches from Peru announce the finding of much Inca treasure that has remained hidden since the conquest.

⁵ Op. cit., chap. IX, p. 80.

open question, as little material evidence to compare with the descriptions has survived; nor is it known how much treasure was buried or otherwise disposed of by the Incas to save it from the hands of the Spaniards. Be that as it may, the gold and silver objects that have been preserved to this day are indeed insignificant in comparison with those recorded by the Spanish narrators. It must be borne in mind, however, that vast territories in Peru are still unexplored, so that no one can foretell what is yet in store for the archeologist of the future.

As to the question regarding the valuation of the precious metals by the Peruvians, there can hardly be any doubt that they esteemed their gold and silver as among their choicest possessions. In manufacturing gold ornaments they beat the metal into thin sheets, presumably to make it go as far as possible. Comparatively few objects were cast in solid metal, if we may judge by those which have been preserved, although the Peruvian smiths were well versed in the art of casting, as testified by their molded bronze or copper objects.

Furthermore, what seems to have been an attempt to imitate gold and silver, or rather to economize in its use, was practised by plating copper or bronze with those precious metals.

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This phase of aboriginal metallurgy has been only briefly mentioned by writers on the art of the ancient metalworkers. Prof. W. H. Holmes has discussed plating by the Indians in his paper on *The Use of Gold and Other Metals among the Ancient Inhabitants of Chiriqui, Isthmus of Darien*,⁶ in which he cites a passage from Acosta, quoted by Bollaert, who wrote, "And the copper was gilt by the use of the juice of a plant rubbed over it, then put into the fire, when it took the gold color." It is not unlikely that the Indians of New Grenada found a plant which produced a juice that would change the color of copper, perhaps resembling gold, but it is quite certain that such treatment did not deposit a film of gold on the copper, such as we find on specimens of gilded metal. A similar statement is made by Oviedo y Valdés,⁷ who, in writing of the natives of Central America, states that they knew how to "gild the pieces or things which they worked from copper and very base gold, in a manner resembling gold of 23 carats.' This color was imparted by means of certain herbs, which process they kept a secret from the Spaniards."

⁶ *Bulletin 3, Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 12, Washington, 1887.

⁷ Quoted by Saville, *Goldsmith's Art in Ancient Mexico, Indian Notes and Monographs*, Misc. no. 7, p. 217, note 62, New York, 1920.

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A further reference to gilding is quoted by Saville from Martínez Gracida, who wrote that "gilding, according to reports brought together from lost traditions, seems to have been executed by the Indians with quicksilver. The formula was a portion of gold and a portion of quicksilver. The liquid was smeared on the piece of copper or silver, and then placed in the fire so as to volatilize the quicksilver."

This last statement approaches a solution of the problem as to how gilding was done by the ancient artisans. A number of ancient specimens in the collections of the Museum, particularly from Peru, have been gilded, some with a thin film of gold and others with a much heavier deposit.

Cinnabar, from which quicksilver can be obtained, occurs frequently in collections of Peruvian materials. Used widely as red paint, and according to some traditions as a cosmetic, it is more than likely that the ancient Peruvians in some way found that an amalgam of gold and quicksilver applied to a copper or a bronze surface, when properly treated, would leave a deposit of gold. It is known that native quicksilver was found in Peru and that the natives were forbidden to mine it because it was injurious

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to the lives of those who endeavored to procure it.⁸

Whether or not the Peruvians found a way to extract quicksilver from the apparently abundant cinnabar, or made use of native quicksilver, is a small matter. It is safe to assume, however, that they found that gold would amalgamate with quicksilver and in some way learned that when applied to a surface of copper and then fired to expel the quicksilver, a deposit of gold would adhere thereto.

To verify this assumption I made an experiment, first to extract some quicksilver from a sample of "red paint," which from its weight suggested cinnabar, in as crude a manner as might have been employed by the Peruvian workers in early times. A small quantity of the cinnabar was roasted in a test tube, and from the ashes a globule of quicksilver of fair size was obtained. Next an amalgam was made by mixing the quicksilver with gold-dust, and applied to a piece of sheet-copper which had been thoroughly cleaned, and then fired, but with no result.

A general knowledge of fire-gilding,⁹ which

⁸ Garcilasso de la Vega, *op. cit.*, p. 413.

⁹ A description of the modern method of fire-gilding is given by Arthur Baessler in *Altperuanische Metallgeräte*, Berlin, 1906.

was in vogue before electro-gilding was known, suggested the use of some kind of acid to prepare the copper surface before applying the amalgam. As an acid from fruit seemed the most likely form the Peruvians would have any knowledge of, some commercial citric acid was tried, and by its use several pieces of sheet-copper were successfully coated with a film of gold with very little difficulty.

For the reason that the ancient Peruvians were so expert in all their arts, it is safe to assume that they discovered and realized the ease with which gold could be deposited on copper with the aid of quicksilver, and proceeded to apply that important discovery. It is certain that the specimens in the Museum which prompted the experiment had not been colored with a vegetal material of any kind.

Another use for the amalgam is suggested by a number of objects made of bronze in two parts. These parts have apparently been held together by the application of amalgam and then heated to drive off the quicksilver, leaving the gold in the form of a solder. To verify this, two pieces of sheet-copper were coated with amalgam and laid together, and the quicksilver driven off, resulting in a perfectly solid joint.

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NEWLY DISCOVERED STRAW BASKETRY OF THE WAMPANOAG INDIANS OF MASSACHUSETTS

GLADYS TANTAQUIDGEON

IN THE summer of 1929, while in pursuit of information bearing on the ethnology of the Indians of southern New England, particularly those of eastern Massachusetts, I happened to visit Mrs. Emma Safford, of Ipswich, the oldest descendant of the Wampanoag. At that time a series of examples of the handicraft produced by Mrs. Safford during her girlhood were brought out by her daughter for my inspection. The baskets of straw, which composed the major part of this interesting collection of family heirlooms, were recognized as being representative of a type hitherto undescribed by writers on the subject who have dealt with the Northeast. The two specimens which I had the good fortune to obtain are now in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation.

Coming from a region where splint basketry has been the predominant type since early Colonial times, the straw baskets herein described are certainly unique. Prior to the recent

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discovery of these baskets it was quite generally thought, I believe, that the indigenous textiles



FIG. 131.—Emma Mitchell Safford, about 26 years of age. From a tintype taken at the time of her marriage, about 1873.

produced and used so extensively by the Indians of Massachusetts and vicinity during the early part of the seventeenth century, met their doom with the advent of splint basketry.¹ Data pertaining to the straw-grass articles in question, however, indicate that the production of this particular type of basket receptacle persisted among certain of

the more conservative mainland Wampanoag until a much later date than had been sup-

¹ Willoughby, C. C., Textile Fabrics of the New England Indians, *American Anthropologist*, vol. 7, no. 1, Jan.-Mar. 1905. Mason, O. T., Aboriginal American Basketry, *Report U. S. National Museum for 1902*, Washington, 1904, in a survey of Eastern basketry techniques, did not find specimens of the straw or grass material to describe.

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FIG. 132.—Mrs. Zerviah Gould Mitchell, Wampanoag basket-maker, mother of Mrs. Safford. From an old photograph.

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posed. Also, as a survival of the era when other materials than ash and white-oak splints predominated in basket-making, from the Wampanoag descendants at Gay Head, Massachusetts, it was ascertained that the practice of using beach-grass as a material for making baskets and mats was current among them until the first part of the nineteenth century; and as a material for making cordage (boat lines, horse bridles) it was only recently abandoned.²

In discussing the survival of such indigenous art products, it is interesting to note some facts concerning these people which were recorded in 1861, as the result of a census of the Indians of Massachusetts, conducted by J. M. Earle.³ At that time, approximately 1000 descendants of the Indian tribes of the state were located and listed, some occupying villages within the original territory of their tribe, others scattered, without any linking affiliations, throughout cities and

² Tantaquidgeon, G., Notes on the Gay Head Indians of Massachusetts, *Indian Notes*, vol. 7, no. 1, pp. 14-15, Jan. 1930.

³ Earle, J. Milton, Indians of Massachusetts, *Senate Papers*, no. 96, 1861. Also Speck, F. G., Territorial Subdivisions and Boundaries of the Massachusetts, Wampanoag, and Nauset Indians, *Indian Notes and Monographs*, misc. no. 44, Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, 1928.

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towns in eastern Massachusetts, engaged in the trades and labors of the industrial world.

Among the most noteworthy of these families were the Mitchells, whose connection with the old reservation at Betty's Neck on Lake As-sawampset, about ten miles south of Middleboro, had been passed on and approved by Massachusetts genealogists as lineal descendants of both Massasoit and King Philip.⁴

On such considerations it might be expected that certain folk-industries and arts would have survived in the family traditions of the more Indian-minded of these descendants. Expectation has been borne out in fact in the case of the Mitchell family, whose ancestress in the second generation from the youngest living descendant was, socially speaking, a pure Wampanoag of Tuspaquin's band.

From the elder of two surviving daughters of the Mitchell family, Mrs. Emma Safford, aged 83, now residing at Ipswich, Mass., the two specimens were obtained during the summer of 1929. According to the testimony of Mrs. Safford, the manufacture of baskets with several materials and in several types persisted in her family until about 1875, when, after being

⁴ Pierce, E. W., *Indian History and Genealogy*, North Abington, Mass., 1895.

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married, she abandoned the interesting art. (See figs. 133, 134.) Up to that time they were constantly engaged in the process and were known to have frequently supplied stores with

large orders of miniature straw baskets, numbering as many as twelve dozen at one time.



FIG. 133.—Wampanoag straw basket made by Mrs. Emma Mitchell Safford about 1870. $3\frac{1}{4}$ by $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. (17/5202)

The round (fig. 133) and the rectangular (fig. 134) baskets, both with lids, are representative of a series of ten straw baskets made by Mrs. Safford during her girlhood and which have been

carefully preserved with other family treasures. Since only the two above referred to were obtainable, photographs were made of the eight which Mrs. Safford retained. The material used in the manufacture of these baskets was raised

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by the informant's father and was, in all probability, the common rye straw of commerce.⁵

Mrs. Safford did not recall the use of such material as the sea-sand reed (*Ammophila are-*

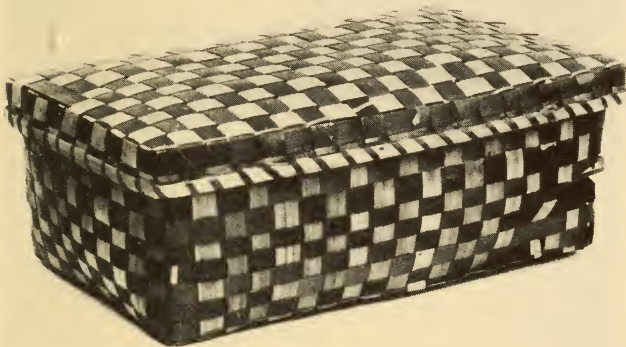


FIG. 134.—Wampanoag straw basket made by Mrs. Emma Mitchell Safford about 1870. 8 by 5½ by 3¾ in. (17/5203)

naria), which I venture to suggest as a probable predecessor of the cultivated straw known to her.

⁵ An attempt was made, through the courtesy of the Museum, to have the straw material identified by experts at the Botanical Gardens, New York City, but owing to the age and condition of the specimen submitted, its classification was not possible.

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In preparing the material for use, it was soaked in water and split. Purple seems to have been used exclusively for the dyed portion, and the specimens show the pleasing effect produced by combining this with the natural color of the straw. The technique employed in fashioning these baskets was the simple checker weave; the width of the straw, both upright and horizontal strands, being about three-eighths of an inch.

Three small baskets and a wall-pocket made of ash splints, also the work of Mrs. Safford, were observed. Two rectangular baskets, measuring $8 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ inches and $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches deep, were woven in the checker-work pattern; the same applies to a round basket, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter and $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep. One of the two rectangular baskets has handles attached to each end; the other has a single bale, as does the round basket. The splints are about half an inch wide. As in the straw baskets, purple again appears to have been the favorite color, and in all three baskets the dyed splints have been combined with those of the natural tone. The wall-pocket is 12 inches long; the depth of the pocket is $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The splints are of ash, undyed. Around the rim a curlicue, or roll, forms the only decoration. In this interesting collection is another type of basket made of dark-red and green beads, 3

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inches in diameter and 2 inches deep. It is woven on wire and was made at about the same date as the other baskets, according to Mrs. Safford.

Among the family heirlooms is a shell necklace. The small sea-shells were carefully selected and strung by one of Mrs. Safford's sisters and worn on dress occasions.

While no other definite information exists as evidence of the straw basketry technique among other bands in New England, I have a fleeting impression of having seen or heard of the same frail, split-straw baskets among my own people, the Mohegan of Connecticut. At present, however, until positive information and actual specimens have been obtained, I scarcely feel that this should be cited as an occurrence in distribution.

ADDENDUM

Straw Basketry among the Delawares of Oklahoma

During the spring of 1930, while engaged in the study of Delaware medicine practices with Wi·tapanóxwe, "Walks at Daylight," an Oklahoma Delaware who was retained at the University of Pennsylvania by the Department of Anthropology, in behalf of the Pennsylvania State Historical Commission, I was informed

that the Oklahoma Delawares also used a straw material for making small baskets and mats. Wi·tapanóχwe recalls having seen some of the older basket-makers, some forty years ago, fashion small baskets, wall-pockets, and comb-cases out of *pəχhalu'sko*, "slough grass," which grew along the lakes and rivers. The material was first wet and split, then woven in the simple checker weave. The edges of the basket were bound and decorative designs were applied to the sides by means of a stamp, *sap·i·tahé'kan*, "stamp for basket-marking." The Delaware term for such baskets is *kahakənətət*, "a container having no special value." The wall-pockets and comb-cases are called *cecé'hala*, "hanging up." The same techniques were employed in weaving and decorating the small table-mats.

THE OLDEST KNOWN ILLUSTRATION OF SOUTH AMERICAN INDIANS

RUDOLF SCHULLER

ONE of the rarest, and, up to the present time, least known examples of early prints illustrating South American Indians, is a wood-engraving, 13½ by 8½ inches, in the New York Public

Library. This is the identical print which, based on data given by Harrisse¹ and his sources of information,² I hitherto attributed to the British Museum Library.³

Beneath the wood-engraving is an inscription of four lines, in German, Gothic letters, not cut in the wood, but printed from type.⁴ The German descriptive text reads:

¹ *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*. A Description of Works Relating to America published between the years 1492 and 1551. New York, Geo. P. Philes, publisher, M DCCC LXVI. See under the year 1497, no. 20, p. 51.

² Henry Stevens, *American Bibliographer*, pt. 1 p. 8, London, 1854. Historical Nuggets. *Bibliotheca Americana*, or a Descriptive Account of my Collection of Rare Books Relating to America. By Henry Stevens, vol. 1, p. 20, no. 77. Sabin, *Bibliography*, vol. 1, no. 1031; vol. v, no. 20,257. See also Justin Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, vol. 11, p. 19, Boston and New York, 1886.

³ The Oldest known Illustration of South American Indians, by Rudolph Schuller. United States Catholic Historical Society, *Historical Records and Studies*, vol. ix, pp. 885-895, New York, 1917. See also *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris*, N.S., tome xvi, pp. 111-118, Paris, 1924. Cf. Die älteste bekannte Abbildung südamerikanischer Indianer, von Prof. Rudolf Schuller, *Dr. Petermanns Geographische Mitteilungen*, 71 Jahrgang, Heft 1/2, pp. 21-24, Gotha, 1925.

⁴ Description of a wood engraving illustrating the South American Indians (1505). By Wilberforce Eames, *Bibliographer of the Library*. Reprinted October 1922 from the *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* of September 1922. The New York Public Library, 1922. 7 pp., with a facsimile of the print, in reduced size. There was printed also a special edition, oblong folio, of seven copies.

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Dise figur anzaigt vns das volck vnd infel die gefunden ist durch den christenlichen künig zū Portigal oder von seinen vnderthonen. Die leüt sind also naked hübsch. braun wolgestalt von leib. ir heübter. // halß. arm. scham. füß. frawen vnd mann ain wenig mit federn bedeckt. Auch haben die mann in iren angefighten vnd brust vid edel gestain. Es hat auch nyemmann nichts funder sind alle ding gemain. // Vnnd die mann habendt weyber welche in gefallen. es fey mütter. Schwester oder früudt. darjnn haben fy kain vnderschatyd. Sy streyten auch mit einander. Sy effen auch ainanderfelbs die erschlagen // werden. vnd hencken das selbig fleisch in den rauch. Sy werden alt hundert vnd füntzig iar. Vnd haben kain regiment.//—"This figure represents to us the people and island which have been discovered by the Christian King of Portugal or by his subjects. The people are thus naked, handsome, brown, well-shaped in body. Their heads, necks, arms, private parts, feet of men and women, are a little covered with feathers. The men also have many precious stones in their faces and breasts. No one alone has anything, but all things are in common. And the men have as wives those who please them, be they mothers, sisters, or friends, therein make they no distinction. They also fight with one another. They also eat one another, even those who are slain, and hang their flesh in the smoke. They become a hundred and fifty years old. And have no government." ⁵

The first bibliographical description of this engraving, accompanied by a reduced facsimile, so far as we are able to determine, was published by Stevens in *The American Bibliographer*, 1.c. The print is without date; but Stevens believed

⁵ See also Bibliotheca Phillippica. Catalogue of a Further Portion of the Classical, Historical, Topographical, Genealogical and other Manuscripts & Autograph Letters of the late Sir Thomas Phillips. Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, London, July, 1919, pp. 11-12, no. 57.



Die figure a
balh. armfel
Vnd die in
werden. vnd



Die figuren zeigen uns das volck und in sel die gefunden ist durch den christlichen künig zu Portugal oder von seinen unterthonen. Die leute sind also nackt hübsch, braun wolgestalt von laib, sie beliben, halb, arm, scham, fuß, fesseln und man hat wenig mit federn bedeckt. Auch haben die mann in iren angesichten und brust vnd edel gestalt. Es hat auch nyemant nichts sonder sind alle ding gemein. Vnd die mann habende weyber welche in gefallen, es sey mütter, schwester oder freilude, darinn haben sy kein vnterscheid. Sy streyten auch mit einander. Sy essen auch einander selbst die erschlagen wader, vnd lecken das selbig blut in den sauch. Sy werden als hundt vnd füngig ier. Vnd haben kein regiment.

PRINTED AT THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

REPRODUCTION, PROBABLY OF A COPY OF THE MUNICH WOODCUT, NOW IN THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

that it was probably printed between 1497 and 1504 at Augsburg or Nüremberg in Bavaria.

We find practically the same statement in Sabin's Bibliography, l.c.

Stevens' bibliographical notice appears again in his Historical Nuggets, l.c., where the print is mentioned as having been printed in 1500.

In exactly the same way the print is cited by Henry Harrisse in his Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima, l.c., except that this foremost authority on early printed Americana includes the wood-engraving among the prints of 1497, yet without giving any reason to justify this early date.

Justin Winsor, in the Narrative and Critical History of America, l.c., incorporates a reduced facsimile of the print, but omits the German text, limiting himself mainly to what had already been set forth by former bibliographers on the origin and the date of the print, although he adds, "The only copy ever known to bibliographers is not to be traced."⁶

The author of the catalogue of the Bibliotheca Phillippica, l.c., doubtless following Stevens, observes, "*absque nota, sed Augsburg, circa 1500.*"

In regard to the dates 1497 and 1500, suggested

⁶ Regarding Stevens' Recollections of Mr. James Lenox, see Eames, *op. cit.*, pp. 4 and 6.

by Stevens and Harrisse respectively, in my critical study of the wood-engraving ⁷ I pointed out that no student well acquainted with the history of early voyages to South America can accept either, for the simple reason that the German text beneath the woodcut states explicitly, "This picture represents to us the people and island *which have been discovered by the Christian King of Portugal, or by his subjects. . . .*" (The Italics are mine.)

Thus the point in question is that of an early expedition to South America ⁸ undertaken by the Portuguese; and there are no positive records of any expedition ever sent to South America by the Crown of Lusitania before the years 1500-1501.⁹

⁷ The Oldest Known Illustration of South American Indians, l.c. Cf. *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris*, n.s., tome XVI, p. 113. Dr. Petermanns Mitteilungen, 71, p. 22/1.

⁸ Cf. treaty of Tordesillas concluded in 1494 between Spain and her rival power Portugal, graphically depicted for the first time on the Cantino map, so-called. See H. Harrisse, *The Discovery of North America*, London-Paris, 1892. Cf. Rudolf Schuller, "O mais antigo mappa conhecido do Brasil," *O Imparcial*, Rio de Janeiro, 1914. "El Mapa Portugués más antiguo del Brasil, por Rodolfo Schuller," *Revista de Geografía Colonial y Mercantil*, tomo XI, pp. 357-364, Madrid, 1914.

⁹ Strictly speaking, not before 1501, because Álvarez Cabral's discovery of what afterward was termed "Terra da Sancta Cruz"—"The Holy Cross Land"—was merely a fortuitous incident during his eastbound voyage.

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The first voyager, Cabral, set sail early in the spring of 1500, and discovered, by mere accident, the coast of Brazil. Pero Vaaz da Caminha, one of the secretaries of Cabral's fleet, has given a detailed account of the ten days' sojourn on the Brazilian coast and a remarkable description of the Indians found in Porto Seguro. But this highly official document could hardly have reached the German printers, as it remained unknown and unpublished until the nineteenth century, when it was published for the first time by Ayres de Casal in his *Corografia Brazilica*, Rio de Janeiro, 1817.

Moreover, careful comparison of both texts must convince even the layman that there can be found not the slightest evidence of relationship between Caminha's "letter" and the text beneath the wood-engraving.

In order to follow up Cabral's discovery, an official Portuguese exploring expedition sailed from Lisbon, May 10 (or May 16), 1501, "to discover new lands," and returned to the Texo, September 7 (or 17), 1502. The only known account of this all-important early voyage that has come to us is the letter of Amerigo Vespucci on his so-called "third voyage." In this document, addressed to Lorenzo Pietro de' Medici of Florence, referring to the Indians Vespucci

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met somewhere on the Brazilian coast, he states that “. . . none have patrimony among them, but everything is common. They have neither king (chief) nor government; and each one is his own master. They take as many wives as they please. In the intercourse of the sexes they have no regard to kindred, intermarrying the son with the mother, the brother with the sister . . . in these things they live ungoverned by reason. . . . Their cheeks, their jaws, their noses, lips, and ears have not one little hole only, but many large ones in them; so that I have often seen one with seven holes in the face . . . it will hardly be believed, that one man had seven stones in his face, each one more than half a span in size. . . . I saw in the houses of a certain Indian village, in which I remained twenty-seven days, where human flesh, having been salted [?], was suspended from the beams of the dwellings, as we use to do with bacon and pork. . . .” Then Vespucci observes “. . . they live a hundred and fifty years.”

In other editions of the Vespucci letter we read: “They have no laws, and no religious belief, but live according to the dictates of nature . . . they have no private property, but everything is common; they have no king, they do not obey anybody, being each one his own



*Am Aufsatz: Georg Leidinger, Die älteste bekannte
Abbildung südamerikanischer Indianer.*

Diese figuren zeigen uns das volck vnd insel die gefunden ist durch den christlichen künig zu Portugal von seinen vnderthonen. Die leut sind also nackt hübsch. braun wolgestalt von leib. ic heißere
hals. atm. scham. süß. scawen vnd mann ain wenig mit federn bedeckt. Auch haben die mann waren angesehten vnd brust vil edel gestain. Es hat auch nyemantz nichts sunder sind alle ding gemain.
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w. Den vnd heissen das selbig fleisch in den rauch. Sy werden als hundert vnd fünfzig iar. Vnd heten kein regiment.

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master . . . the men have the habit of piercing their lips and cheeks, and in these holes they insert bones and stones; and do not believe [he says to Lorenzo Pietro de' Medici] that they are little ones . . . the meat they eat, specially the usual, is human flesh . . . this is certain; for we found human flesh in their huts hung up . . . they fight each other and they kill each other . . . they are a people which live many years (132 years!).”

After such conclusive proofs I believe there can be no further doubt as to the origin of the description of the Indians presented in the wood-engraving in question. And, as the German translations of the Vespucci letter were all made from a copy which came from Paris as early as May, 1505, it is logical that the engraving must have been printed *after* that date.

A similar conclusion was reached independently by Mr. Wilberforce Eames (op. cit), who seems to have been unaware of my critical study published in 1917 in *Historical Records and Studies* of the United States Catholic Historical Society, New York. The learned bibliographer goes even farther by saying that “*the probable date of the print is 1505*,” seemingly taking for granted the accuracy of the year suggested by

Weller in his "Reportorium Typographicum,"¹⁰ although the latter presents no evidence to show the correctness of his assertion.

The author of the *Bibliotheca Phillippica*, l.c., refers to the engraving as a "unique copy of the earliest xylographic picture relating to America that is known," while Justin Winsor (*op. cit.*) alludes to it as "the only copy ever known to bibliographers."

Stevens and Harrisse assert that "the broad-leaf is believed to be unique," and so did I. Nevertheless, I observed elsewhere¹¹ also that, according to the manuscript notations which I found in Harrisse's own copy of the *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, now preserved in the Library of Congress, a second copy of the print is supposed to exist in the Royal Library at Munich, adding at the same time that, "unfortunately, I was unable to verify the assertion

¹⁰ Nördlingen, 1864, p. 34/ii, no. 317. Cf. Eames, *op. cit.*, p. 6. However, the statement that "this copy was seen by Harrisse, and he mentions it among other rarities which he examined at the Royal Library in Munich, on page viii of the introduction to his 'Additions' to the *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima* (Paris, 1872)," refers only to the copy mentioned by Stevens.

¹¹ *Journal*, p. 113. *Petermanns Mittheilungen*, p. 22/i. Of course this passage should have been modified, or at least explained more in detail, in the paper which I published in Germany in 1925.

made by the anonymous collator, owing to the present abnormal condition of affairs"—the World War.¹²

The apparent contradiction seems to have given rise to a highly interesting study of the copy of the wood-engraving preserved in the State Library, the former Royal Library, at Munich.¹³ This is the same broad-leaf first referred to by Weller (*op. cit.*, 1). Size: 223 by 336 mm. The engraving is colored in brown, green, and red.

In comparing carefully the two wood-engravings, one will observe that the New York Public Library copy seems to be a re-engraving either of the Munich copy or of some prototype still unknown. This assumption is fully supported, I believe, by the deviations found in the two texts, as has already been shown by Dr. Leidinger.

The Munich text is, beyond doubt, as stated also by Dr. Leidinger, the superior one, and

¹² The paper was read before the XIX International Congress of Americanists held at Washington in 1915.

¹³ [Director Dr.] Georg Leidinger, "Die älteste bekannte Abbildung südamerikanischer Indianer. Mit einer Sonderbeilage." Gvtenberg Festschrift zvr Feier des 25 jaehrigen Bestehens des Gvtenberg Mvsevms in Mainz 1925 Heravsgegeben von A[loys]. Rvppel. Verlag der Gvtenberg-Gesellschaft in Mainz, pp. 179-181.

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therefore it is important evidence regarding the date of both the Munich and the New York copy. Taking also into account the aforementioned differences in the engraving, we can reasonably give precedence to the Munich copy in point of time.

<i>New York Copy</i> ¹⁴	<i>Munich Copy</i>
first line zū	zũ
nacket	nackent
second line fūß	fũß
vid ¹⁵	vil
third line Vnnd	Vnd
mütter	mütter
freüudt	freündt
kain	nit
einander	ainander
fourth line füntzig	fünfftzig

But the question of the credit of being the "oldest" known illustration of South American Indians seems to be, according Dr. Leidinger, one which should not be considered as yet definitively settled for the following reason:

In the former Ducal Library at Braunschweig, Germany, there is preserved a similarly colored

¹⁴ Leidinger says "London copy," as he did not know of Dr. Eames' paper on the subject.

¹⁵ In *Dr. Petermanns Mitteilungen*, p. 21, note 4, I erroneously observed: "*vid* (statt *vil*) ist ein Fehler, den Harris von Stevens, a.a.O., übernommen hat."

wood-engraving, size 245 by 376 mm., with forty-two lines of German text which, as indicated by Ruge,¹⁶ are mere extracts from a Vespucci letter, especially regarding the manners and customs of the Indians represented in the engraving. This engraving bears the following title:

Das sind die new gefundē menschē oð volcker In form vñ gestalt Als sie hie stend durch dē Cristenlichen // König von Portugall / gar wunnderbarlich erfunden.—[Beneath a wood engraving, showing an isthmus with three ships, on the shores, to the right and to the left, Indians and Indian women. Below begins the text thus:] ¶ Albericus vespuccius Laurentio petri Francisci vil grues. . . . At the end: Vnd dise Epistel auß Yta // lischer sprach in Latein / vñ yetz gedeutsch. Der hübsch tholmetsch gezogē hat. Vmb das alle lateiner vñ deütschē v'standen / wie vil grosser vñ wunderlicher dinge // von tag zu tag gefunden / vñ offenbar werden. Vñdiß missiue in deütsch gezogē / Auß dem exemplar das von Pariß kam ym Mayen monat. Nach Cristi geburt // Fünfftzehenhundert vñ funff Jare.—“These are the newly discovered men, or people, as they are here represented by the Christian King of Portugal wonderfully found.—Albericus Vesputius sends many greetings to Lorenzo Pietro Francesco (de' Medici of Florence). . . . And this letter was translated from the Italian language into Latin, and now into German . . . from the copy which came from Paris in the month of May. P.C. 1505 years.¹⁷

¹⁶ Leidinger, *op. cit.*, p. 181. Cf. W. Ruge, Älteres kartographisches Material in deutschen Bibliotheken. Fünfter Bericht aus den Jahren 1910–1913. *Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse*, 1916 Beiheft, Berlin, 1916, p. 79, no. 45.

¹⁷ This highly important broadside is not mentioned in any known bibliographical work except the study of Dr. W. Ruge, cited above.

Furthermore, in considering the question of the oldest illustration we must not overlook the "savage" depicted on the title-page of the Vespucci letter, printed at Leipzig in 1505.¹⁸ Furthermore, in the edition of the Vespucci letter issued in 1505 from the press of "Mathiam hupfuff" at Strassburg,¹⁹ we find, below the Latin inscription, in Gothic letters: "De ora antarctica // per regem Portugallie // pridem inuenta.," two wood-engravings, the one above representing four Indians, and the one below showing five ships.²⁰

These few indications will, I hope, prove to be useful to those scholars who will make the attempt to solve in a definite way the somewhat tangled and therefore difficult problem in regard to which one of these wood-engravings does *de*

¹⁸ HARRISSE, "Additions," no. 20; though this copy seems no longer to exist. Cf. RUGE, *op. cit.*, p. 70, no. 26.

¹⁹ HARRISSE, *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, no. 39. W. RUGE, *op. cit.*, pp. 71-72, no. 28.

²⁰ The same wood-engravings are found on the title-page of the German edition of the Vespucci letter, printed at Strassburg in 1506. A similar woodcut appears also on the title-page of the Leipzig edition of 1506. Cf. also the Magdeburg edition of the Vespucci letter of 1506, a print which had been unknown to all bibliographers. See RUGE, *op. cit.*, p. 73, no. 31.

facto represent the "oldest known illustration of South American Indians."²¹

ORNAMENTAL DESIGNS IN SOUTH- WESTERN POTTERY

T. T. WATERMAN

THE designs on Southwestern pottery, taking them all together, offer a spectacle varied and intricate. Aside from the variety of colors, of which there are dozens, and the use of different methods of fabrication, "slips," and so on, of which there are scores, the observer is confronted, if he is a student of design, or gratified, if he has an eye for "effect," with a beautiful and a puzzling variety of painted ornaments.

The wares of different neighborhoods, and of different periods in the same neighborhood, are surprisingly unlike, and some of the variants are elaborate and very striking.

My own introduction to this field of investigation is a thing I shall never forget. It led me up to a brilliant display of ceramics, and recited

²¹ Elsewhere I shall revert to the print entitled "Copia der Newen Zeytung aufs Presillg Landt"—"New Gazette from the Brazil Land"—with special reference to the exceedingly rare second copy now preserved in the New York Public Library, and which seems to have been owned by the late James Lenox.

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a rapid and dizzy catalog of names. In fact, the study of Southwestern pottery, at that time, had gone as far as the invention of names, and no farther. A few gifted investigators, among them Nelson, Kroeber, Spier, Kidder, Morris, and Hodge, had actually traced a certain amount of succession in types of pottery, each investigator working with a particular ruin or set of ruins, or a particular neighborhood.

The body of the literature, however, at that time, dealt mostly with nomenclature, a condition which has not been completely altered even yet. Both the written word dealing with pottery designs and the conversation of the experts often consist mostly of names, chosen in dear-knows-what extraordinary way, applied in a prompt and merciless manner to some hundreds of styles of decoration.

Every newcomer in the field is greeted, as I was, with these formidable lists of names applied right and left, front and center, flank and rear, in the effort to set off one ware from another. We learn with some pain and misgiving to distinguish the wares of one locality from those of another, or to separate the early wares of a site from the later wares of the same site.

The names or the catchwords applied to the embellishment of vessels are derived in some

part from the colors employed by the ancient craftswomen. Thus we walk into a museum and shake hands with wares known as "black-on-white," "red-on-buff," "Jeddito yellow," "polychrome," and a whole spectrum of color terms besides.

The lists of names have been expanded by adding the names of places where certain wares were first encountered, and the vocabulary applied to pottery calls to mind the whole geography of the Southwest. The experts tell us off-hand about Chaco ware, Lower Gila ware, Flagstaff ware, Little Colorado wares, Tularosa, Mimbres, San Juan, and other wares, *ad libitum*. In each of these regions we find from three to thirty wares, obtained from different levels of excavation, each of them calling for a catch-word.

Luckily, out of the patient and exceedingly detailed work of the last few years, the Story of Pottery in the Southwest is beginning to appear. Once the observer has digested the technical terms in all their pomp and splendor, it seems that a consistent evolution of pottery designs begins to be traceable. Under the fine display of colors and of color combinations, and in spite of the baffling complexity of many of the patterns, a simple tendency begins to appear,

and a thread runs through the maze, indicating how pottery embellishment developed.

The following is an effort, therefore, to point out the stages in the evolution of design. We may assume that vessel decoration had its beginning somewhere. We may imagine, without asking permission of anybody, that the earliest designs will be found to be different in some respects from the latest designs. We may assume further that in the middle periods we will see some sort of a transition. If there was any gradual evolution, the number of transitional stages will be almost infinitely large. I should imagine for my part that the evolution of design in all the villages followed approximately the same steps. Admitting that the number of villages, historic and prehistoric, is very large, and assuming for the sake of argument that each village turned out a new and somewhat peculiar style of ceramics in every five years of its history, still I should expect the culmination, after five hundred years of progress, to be comparable in all the villages. The wares will be different. That they are different in minor details no one can deny, for the experts can often spot a potsherd and place it in its proper geographical pigeonhole in an instant. But the stage of advancement in design and in fabrication

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should be more or less comparable, bearing in mind merely that some villages were remote from the foci, and lagged consistently behind.

I should like without further apology to describe the first stage of pottery from the standpoint of ornamental pattern, and then to describe half a dozen well-marked subsequent stages. I say well-marked subsequent stages. I am trying to picture the milestones of progress in the decorative arts applied to pottery. In actual fact, vessels from a given site will show perhaps a very gradual transition from one style to another. If they fail to show it, the collection of vessels is probably, for one reason or another, defective. Let us therefore ignore or assume this gradual improvement which took place in each stage. I should like to show herewith only the end results, after the changes proceed to the point where something emerges which provides a new and fresh effect on the observer.

First Stage

Logically we should find, back in the beginning times, a period or horizon in which pottery embellishment as such did not exist. As a matter of fact, bowls from the earliest South-western horizons show a certain assortment of

patterns. Further than that, in the levels below pottery are found crude clay bowls, not fired, which themselves show an attempt at decoration. Such fragments of unfired clay utensils have been described by Morris and other investigators, and the efforts at decoration are just about what we should expect such "first" efforts to be, consisting of single lines, irregularly incised. As we examine Southwestern pottery in all its stages, we find the number of decorated pieces decreasing as we go back. In earlier levels, the proportion of undecorated sherds rather consistently increases. It is worth remarking that the promise held out by these data are not fulfilled. The earliest pottery that I know about provides, somewhat against reason, a certain small proportion of decorated vessels. Apparently decoration of a simple sort had already established a foothold for itself in the days of raw clay vessels before firing was invented. If we examine the earliest fired pottery, we therefore find a kind of decoration already in vogue. In a small proportion of these vessels, painted designs appear, most frequently on the inside of bowls. According to the authorities, these patterns were copied onto the pottery from textiles, probably from baskets.

Examples of this pottery are shown in figs. 135

and 136. This is pottery of the "post-Basket-maker" epoch, to use the customary phrase; and it is noteworthy that the people of this early period were already using more than one color. The fragment shown in fig. 136, *b*, is painted with carbon, that in fig. 135, *c*, with red oxide. The former shows a fine example of the patterns supposedly copied from basketry.

Some of this early pottery is tempered with vegetal fibers. Some of the modern pottery of the



FIG. 135.—Very early "round pit-house" pottery. Most of it is without decoration.

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Southwest is also tempered with plant fibers. I do not know to what extent this kind of temper was used in the intermediate periods of pottery manufacture.

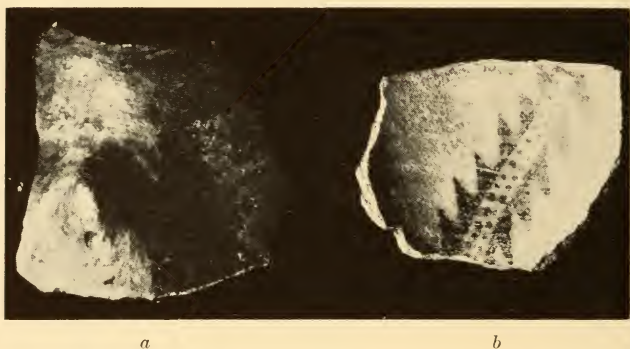


FIG. 136.—When this early pottery is decorated, the designs are usually copied from basketry patterns.

Time relations with reference to this early pottery are very uncertain. When we examine the pottery of tribes living on the outskirts of the area, for example in central California, we find that their vessels are entirely without decoration. Perhaps some clever investigator will some day unearth an horizon in the Southwest where pottery is not embellished. The evidence at this moment does not go so far as that.

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Second Stage

I am not in position to describe the pottery of these early times with any show of authority. The facts seemed a moment ago to point to the existence in the first stage of wares in which a few utensils were decorated. Among those which were decorated, basket patterns are very common. Such "textile" patterns did not however survive the first stage, and in the following or second stage we begin to see something quite different.

I feel inclined to throw discretion to the winds and to say in a few words what the pottery of the second stage was like. It was tempered in most cases with pounded stone or other minerals; it was pretty well fired; and was decorated with wavering lines. If we want to indulge in the exercise of manufacturing catchwords, we might say that the first period was a period of *basket-patterns*, and the second stage was a period of *line-decoration*. By line decoration I mean to imply that complicated patterns did not exist. The potters painted lines on their wares—on a small proportion of their wares, that is, since the proportion of decorated vessels in the whole output mounts very slowly as we come forward in time. These lines are badly drawn, and are more or less "hit-and-miss." Little thought

was given to reproducing any coherent pattern. This should not, of course, be over-stated. It is hard to reconstruct the psychology of a potter

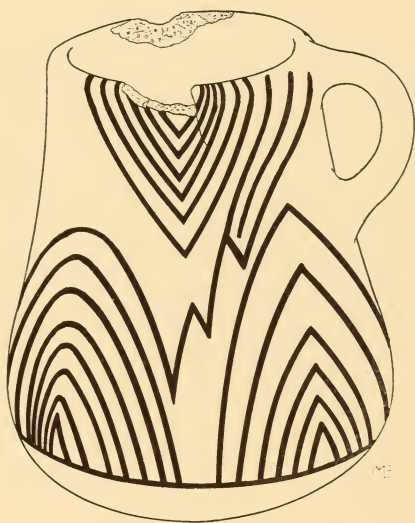


FIG. 137.—The second stage of pottery decoration as illustrated by an "early slab-house" specimen. This general horizon has also been called the "early pre-Pueblo." The embellishment in these beginning stages of pottery design consists mostly of simple lines arranged in a figure.

figures. I am not prepared to assert that all vessels with line decoration are later than the latest vessel with basket-patterns; but I think so. At

dead for some thousands of years. At any rate, the use of lines will serve as a trait characteristic of the second period, especially when we compare these vessels with later wares. The "lines" go around the vessel, and there are no cross-lines, and no addition of triangles or other

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any rate, the first period seems to culminate in the copying of basket-designs, the second period, in the use of simple lines, used in a way that is not commonly seen in basketry.

The second stage of pottery is associated with "early pre-Pueblo" remains. An example of the ornamentation used is shown in fig. 137.

After a time (how long a time is problematical) painted lines came to be combined, with the addition of other figures, into patterns. This leads us to the third stage of pottery decoration.

Third Stage

I wish to point a contrast here between what I have called line decoration and what might be called the use of patterns or figures. Lines, of course, when applied for decoration, form in themselves a kind of pattern. We can at least say that, beginning with the period with which we are now dealing, patterns rapidly become complicated. It is unnecessary to quarrel about terms. To my own mind, the matter presents itself as a contrast between simple lines and complicated figures. If anyone prefers to think of lines as *ipso facto* figures, we might point the contrast by saying that in the second period the lines do not cross one another, while in the third stage they do.

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This third stage is illustrated by the vessel shown in fig. 138.

For the sake of attaching the present remarks to what has been said by other investigators



FIG. 138.—Late "slab-house" pottery, a somewhat later ware than the "pre-Pueblo" horizon. The design is painted in reddish iron oxide, and consists of an ingenious arrangement of "straps," not mere lines. The houses in which such specimens are found are rectangular structures, partly buried in the ground.

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about the Southwest and its ancient peoples, I may say that the present or third stage of pottery is found associated with *late* "pre-Pueblo" remains. The habitations found in this horizon have often been called slab-houses. They consist of square pits, roofed with stakes and adobe, with a row of upright stones set around the periphery of the pit at the base of the wall; that is to say, at the ground-level. I am rising now with the suggestion that we are to recognize *early* slab-house wares, and *late* slab-house wares. This late slab-house pottery, the third stage of the ceramic art, is artistically very fine. Patterns are pleasingly varied, and well drawn. The ground color is a warm buff, the design is arranged upon it with considerable taste and effectiveness, and the general impression is one of life and warmth. To my mind this is the most beautiful pottery that the Southwestern people ever produced. Let me remark that in this late slab-house ware the pattern is festooned across a background. The appreciation of backgrounds soon disappears from Southwestern wares.

Fourth Stage

At this point in their story, the Indians of the Southwest became inordinately interested in one

particular phase of ceramics. They seem to have become enamored with pigments and slips.



FIG. 139.—The fourth stage of pottery ornamentation. The specimen illustrates the pottery of the "early Pueblo" horizon, and represents the crude beginnings of what is called the "black-on-white" style, perhaps the best-known of all Southwestern styles. The early Pueblo structures, in which this style is best exemplified, were simple "apartment-house" villages entirely above ground. In starting this "black-on-white" style, the designs slipped back into somewhat crude forms.

They fell in love, so to speak, with the contrast between burnished white slips and certain gaudy black patterns which were superposed. At this point begins a black-and-white phase in Southwestern ceramics, a phase which lasted for a thousand years and produced some most elaborate wares. All of

these black-on-white products, however perfect in draftsmanship and however elaborate they may be, seem to me to be cold and stiff. Progress in the black-on-white technique is very conspicuous. In the beginning stages the black figures are badly drawn. As Kidder and others have pointed out, they are also somewhat lawless; that is to say, the later black-on-white pottery shows figures which are beautifully drawn, and highly standardized and conventionalized. By contrast, these early black-on-white vessels, such as we see here (fig. 139), are both "free" and clumsy. In the entire black-on-white phase, until almost its close, decoration remained geometrical.

The characteristic thing about the fourth stage, to my way of thinking, is that background, in pottery decoration, disappears. I may perhaps explain what I mean by saying that the native surface of the vessel is overlaid with a slip, and on this slip a decorative field is set apart. In the fourth stage the pattern masks this field. The decorative field does not always include the whole vessel. Often the bottom is left uncolored, or covered only by a slip. In this fourth stage the black figure is imposed on the field in such a way that there is a balance, an equal weighting, between the black and the

white portions. A glance at fig. 139 will explain still better what I mean. The pitcher here illustrated presents a white field with a black pattern on it, *or* a black field with a white pattern on it, according to the manner in which the observer chooses to view it. For my part I can see either thing I please, by an effort of the will. Here I should like to call attention to a curious fact. Fig. 138 represents, in a sense, the culmination of "pre-Pueblo" pottery, the best work that was done in the primeval red-on-buff ware. Fig. 139 represents an "early Pueblo" ware, in black-on-white. The second vessel is not so old as the first, but it shows a degeneration in draftsmanship. Such a momentary demoralization often occurs when a folk begins to work in a new medium. Examples of this can be supplied by any archeologist. The debacle visible when one compares the two specimens here illustrated is so apparent that one involuntarily thinks of the black-on-white technique as an importation. I think a comparison between "pre-Pueblo" and "early Pueblo" wares in any museum will convince an observer that when the black-on-white pottery came in, designs at once became less perfect. The black-on-white technique slowly climbed back to the old level of draftsmanship, and then developed,

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and went far in advance. The facts suggest in a dim way to my mind that the red-on-buff patterns were "native" patterns, either invented on the spot or used for such a long time that the people felt them as home products. The black-on-white complex reacted on them like an importation from abroad. In any case, they experimented with it, going back to the earliest artistic devices. They not only made crude and bungling designs, but they toyed with graphic figures, especially drawings of animals, a thing which they soon forgot, and rediscovered only in the modern period. I think this point deserves mention, since all the designs in this essay appear in black and white, and the obvious degeneration between the pre-Pueblo and early Pueblo output would otherwise impress any careful observer and make the series of pots as here presented seem very artificial.

Without over-emphasizing any of these points (for the matters might not so appear to another critic), it certainly remains a fact, I believe, that after the pre-Pueblo level in the evolution of pottery, Southwestern potters cared little for background. The more perfect the wares become, the less background matters. The opposite tendency in fact rules very consistently: the tendency to crowd the decorative field full of

everything and anything to fill it up completely. I make no secret of my feeling that this was too bad, in a way. The black-on-white epoch was artistically a time when the potter abandoned the better for the worse. It is not a matter to weep over, however, for in the first place the black-on-white epoch produced wares very beautiful in their own way, and in the second place the potter's art returned after this lapse to the older appreciation of background, or ground colors, and used background with gratifying success.

Fifth Stage

What takes form in my mind as a fifth stage or epoch in the story of Southwestern pottery is marked by an elaboration of the black designs. They did not jump at once to the greatest possible degree of complexity, but they edged in that direction, apparently through some centuries. The end result of this edging is shown in fig. 140. I cannot help but remark that the design in this figure is very much like the design in fig. 138. In fact, it was chosen because it was so similar. In fig. 140 we observe, however, the "crowding" which is so characteristic of the black-on-white epoch, and we see also the "balance" between black and white portions of

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the design which we have already recognized as innate in the whole classical or cliff-dweller period in the Southwest. The artist crowds on



FIG. 140.—The fifth stage of decoration. The magnificent designs of the best "Cliff-dweller" horizon, as exhibited in Chaco Cañon ruins, have rarely if ever been surpassed. The design is so elaborate that the background virtually disappears.

as much pattern as possible. The white areas are broken up by black lines, and the black areas are broken up by white lines, and there is a sort of nervous desire to elaborate to the ulti-

mate measure, until the embellishment becomes involved, though systematic; beautiful, but a little "dizzy."

This vessel (fig. 140) is fairly typical, I think, of the best specimens of the classical black-on-white horizon, as recovered from Mesa Verde and Chaco cañon, where pueblo life reached its highest level. Beautiful examples of the intricate work of these decorators could be multiplied almost without number. No two vessels are alike, and the present example was chosen merely for convenience. If my eyesight serves me, all of this finest pottery is about equally weighted with black and white elements. Whatever their virtues, the potters of this period certainly did not care for background or relief. No *pre*-Pueblo vessel, I am certain, shows any such elaboration of pattern as this, nor does any *early* Pueblo example. If we wished to manufacture catch-phrases, we might call this present epoch the classical period, or the period of balanced elaboration.

Sixth Stage

If the preceding stage is the "classical" stage, we may turn now to the succeeding epoch and call it the "post-classical." Background reappears, and in a curious and somewhat un-



THE SIXTH STAGE OF DESIGN EVOLUTION. THIS STYLE OF ORNAMENTATION IS CHARACTERISTIC OF THE HORIZON LATER THAN THE BEST CLIFF-DWELLER RUINS. THE PATTERN IS "REVERSED," TO USE A CONVENIENT TERM, THE WHITE GROUND COLOR SHOWING THROUGH TO FORM THE EMBELLISHMENT.

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expected way. Potters are still painting black figures on a burnished white surface. What remains of the white ground-color is suddenly sensed, however, as a pattern. Pl. iv illustrates the point, I think, better than any words. Here the black sections of the design are sensed as a ground-color, and the white slip shows through it in such a way as to bring out a pattern. My impression is that vessels like this are on the whole later in time than those like fig. 140; but my knowledge of such matters is largely of a hearsay sort. If museums would arrange and label collections on any sensible and stratigraphic plan, and if those who write about the Southwest would state the detailed facts about such matters, students like myself would not be obliged to indulge in so much guesswork. In the meantime I am ready to wager that what I have just said on the basis of rumor and blind feeling is on the whole correct: that the potter of the post-classical era filled in the decorative field so elaborately with black pattern that the scanty white background which remained was sensed as the decorative element and was treated accordingly. Thus the itch for elaboration, which we have observed through a number of periods, had the curious result of

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bringing the potter back to an appreciation of background.

This post-classical epoch or stage might therefore, except for our dislike of catchwords, be called the stage of "reversed patterns." What was originally the background becomes the pattern, and what was historically a black pattern becomes a black ground-color. In any case, whether the Southwestern potter came back to the idea of background in this way, or simply evolved it from her inner consciousness, she came back to it, and this post-classical epoch saw her return to it.

In this same epoch, color began to come back into its own. That is, pigments other than black and white began to be used and appreciated. This results in the so-called "polychrome" wares, usually black, white, and red. Other pigments were, as a matter of fact, slowly added to the potter's repertory, and the wares from this point on become much warmer in tone, with more life, and, to my own eye, more beauty.

Seventh Stage

The seventh stage is marked by a whole-souled return to the primitive feeling for color and background. The elaborate, fussy com-

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plexity of the classical black-on-white is replaced by the appearance of warm-toned wares in

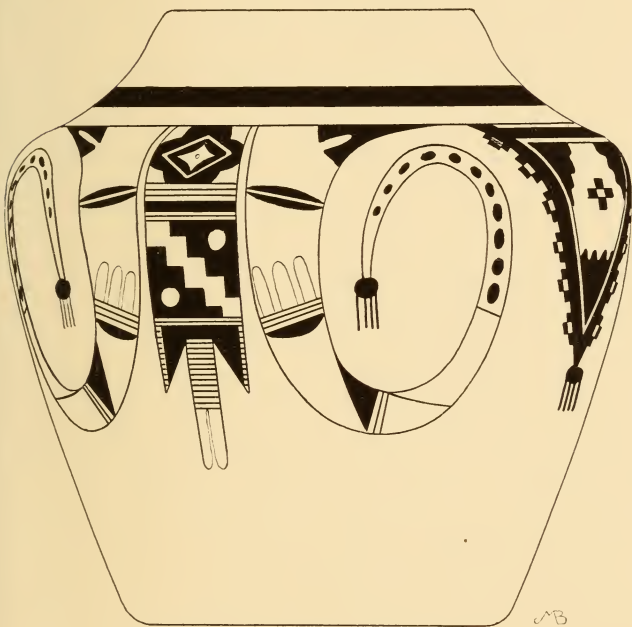


FIG. 141.—The last stage of embellishment, before the present or existing styles came into vogue. The specimen shows a simplification, a delicacy and refinement of pattern, found in the best “modern” wares. (These styles went out of use several hundred years ago. The delicacy and “accent” of the lines are noteworthy.)

varying red and yellow shades. The colors themselves are often very beautiful, and patterns

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take the form of a delicate tracery over the ground color. This period saw the rise of such wares as "Jeddito yellow" and "Sikyatki." A new tendency appears, namely, the use of accented lines. I do not know where it came from. There is no ware that I know of in any adjacent region from which the notion of accent could have been borrowed. If the Southwestern peoples borrowed the idea, they certainly did well, for they at least carried the idea out in the most gratifying way. An example of what I mean is shown in fig. 141. Such pottery as this is a pleasure to look at. Such wares are warm and pleasing in tone, shapes are pleasingly varied, and the design appears as a design, a graceful tracery of clever figures standing out delicately or boldly against a gratefully colored surface. Gradually, as this period progresses, the old love of graphic figures comes back into play, for the first time in two thousand years. This leads us into the modern period, with its own peculiar wares. But it is time for this paper to close, before we have to lend ourselves as witnesses in these latter days to another debacle.

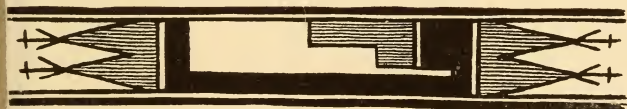
Conclusion

It is fair to remark that this essay has leaped with some agility from one period to another.

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Each of the "stages" here mentioned could easily be broken up into two, or two dozen. Nevertheless it seems clear to my mind that the story outlined by the help of these seven "stages" is, aside from errors arising from faulty information, the story of what has actually happened.

The drawings which I have figured were chosen with the idea of illustrating the shifting styles of ornamentation. I placed these drawings in the order of the "style" of decoration. Information about the actual age of any South-western vessels is not accessible to me. I doubt if it exists, as regards most individual specimens. I believe, however, that if vessels like those shown in the accompanying figures were arranged with due regard to the age of each individual example, the order would in the end be the same as the order in which I have arranged the drawings. At any rate, while the order of these drawings is stylistic, I have not been able to find any chronological difficulties in it.



TRIAL MARRIAGE IN SOUTH AMERICA

RUDOLF SCHULLER

ALL known historical records regarding the social organization of the ancient Peruvians emphasize the strict laws by which betrothal and marriage were regulated under the almost direct supervision of the ruling Inca.¹ Nevertheless, from time immemorial there must have existed—whether legally or illegally we are unable to ascertain, owing to lack of reliable evidence—a form of marriage, or rather prenuptial concubinage, which, according to the Augustine missionaries, was called *pantanaco*,² and which bears the name *tincunacuspa* in the reports of Jesuit missionaries.³

Under this strange prenuptial arrangement the young man and the girl, his prospective wife,

¹ First part of the Royal Commentaries of the Yncas, by the Ynca Garcilasso de la Vega. Translated and edited, with Notes and an Introduction, by Clements R. Markham. Vol. I, chap. VIII, pp. 306-307. London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society. M.DCCC.LXIX.

² Tincunakuspa. Por Carlos A. Romero. (La Prueba del matrimonio entre los indios.) *Inca*. Revista Trimestral de Estudios Antropologicos. Organo del Museo de Arqueologia de la Universidad Mayor de San Marcos. Vol. I, no. I. Editor, J. C. Tello. Enero-Marzo 1923, p. 86.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 87.

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lived together for a certain space of time, during which he was enabled to learn whether the girl possessed the requisite qualities of a wife.⁴

According to Romero,⁵ the first known notice regarding this form of trial marriage is to be found in a document written in Spain between 1550 and 1555, under the title: "Relación de la religión y ritos del Pirú hecha por los primeros religiosos agustinos que allí pasaron para la conversión de los naturales."—"Report on the religion and rites of Peru, made by the first Augustine missionaries who went there in order to convert the natives." The document refers especially to idolatry as practised by the Indians of Huamachuco.⁶

The anonymous author of this interesting report observes that one of the most deeply rooted vices of the Indians was the custom, almost impossible of extirpation, to *try*, in the broadest sense of the term, the chosen girl before marrying her. The Indians of Huamachuco called this

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 86.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, where he refers to the Relación de la religión y ritos del Pirú hecha por los primeros religiosos agustinos que allí pasaron para la conversión de los naturales," in *Colección de Libros y Documentos referentes a la historia del Peru*, tomo XI, p. 42, Lima, 1918. Cf. also Garcilasso de la Vega, *op. cit.*, parte 1^a, lib. IX, cap. VIII, where references to this custom in use among certain Indians of northern Perú are given.

⁶ *Op. cit.*

companionate state *pantanaco*,⁷ as we have said. This custom was observed to such an extent that, when a young man was married by an Augustine missionary to a young girl without having first practised *pantanaco*, he shortly afterward abandoned the wife, alleging that he did not care for her because he did not first "try" her.

Special regulations to prevent this evil custom were issued also by the Provincial Council held at Lima⁸ in 1583,⁹ and rigorous rules designed to eradicate forever the "heathen concubinage" were embodied likewise in the *Constituciones Synodales* of 1613,¹⁰ wherein chapter VI deals exclusively with prenuptial trial by the natives.

This custom, so diametrically opposed to the thoughts and feelings of a Catholic missionary of that period, who considered it an invention of the Devil, is referred to also by the famous Jesuit Father Joseph de Arriaga in his tract

⁷ See below for etymologies as given by Romero, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-87.

⁸ See title-page of *Doctrina Christiana*, 1584, where we read: "Compvesto por avctoridad del Concilio Prouincial, que se celebrou en la Ciudad de los Reyes, el año de 1583. Cf. Medina, Bibliografía de las Lenguas Quechua y Aymará, no. 3, p. 11.

⁹ Romero, *op. cit.*, says "1582."

¹⁰ *Constituciones Synodales* del Arçobispado delos Reyes en el Pirv, etc. En los Reyes. Por Francisco del Canto. Año de M.DC.XIIII. Lib. IV, tit. I, cap. VI. Romero, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

entitled "Extirpacion de la Idolatria en el Peru," etc.,¹¹ wherein it is termed *tincunacuspa*.¹² Unfortunately, however, the zealous missionary does not precisely record in which regions of Peru the custom bore that name. *Pantanaco* and *tincunacuspa* are beyond doubt terms applied to one and the same custom practised in two different regions of Peru. Incidentally it may be noted that Archbishop Villagómez, in his "Carta Pastoral,"¹³ although he refers to the custom called *tincunacuspa*, does not recommend its extirpation.

Prenuptial concubinage is mentioned also by Doctor don Fernando de Avendaño,¹⁴ and by Father Murúa in his "Historia de los Incas Reyes del Peru."¹⁵ Being, as it was, considered as

¹¹ En Lima, por Geronimo de Contreras Impressor de Libros. Con Licencia. Año 1621. Cap. vi. Romero, *op. cit.*

¹² See below for etymologies.

¹³ Carta Pastoral de Exhortacion, e instrvccion contra las idolatrias de los indios, del Arzobispado de Lima. Lima, 1649. Reprinted in *Colección de Libros y Documentos referentes a la Historia del Peru*, tomo XII. Romero, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

¹⁴ Sermones de los misterios de Nvestra Santa Fe Catolica, en lengva castellana, y la general del Inca. Impresso en Lima, 1648. See Sermon xv. Romero, *op. cit.*, p. 88, note (2), gives "1649." Cf. Medina, *op. cit.*, no. 31.

¹⁵ Por el R. P. Fr. Martin de Murúa de la Orden de la Merced. *Colección de Libros y Documentos referentes a la*

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"license" before marriage,¹⁶ it was strictly forbidden by the Viceroy Don Francisco de Toledo in the *Ordenanzas*,¹⁷ in one of which (VIII) secular priests, mayors of towns, Indian chiefs,¹⁸ and all government officials were directed to punish severely every infringement of the law by any Indian, regardless of his social position.

But all efforts on the part of the Church and the Government to abolish the custom were in vain. Indeed it continues to the present day, according to the learned Peruvian writer Dr. Carlos A. Romero,¹⁹ not only among Indians of Inca-Quechua extraction, but also among certain Indians of the Arawak-Pano group of the Ucayali river in eastern Peru, as well as among several tribes in the basin of the Amazon.²⁰

Historia del Peru (1602), tomo IV (2^a serie), Lima, MCMXXII. Romero, *op. cit.*, note (3), gives "1918," which is an evident mistake.

¹⁶ On the other hand, license before marriage is very common in the East Indies. Cf. Ernest Crawley, *The Mystic Rose*, vol. II, p. 209, New York, 1927.

¹⁷ *Ordenanzas para los indios de todos los Departamentos y pueblos de este Reyno*, dictadas por el Virrey Don Francisco de Toledo, dated Arequipa, November 6, 1575. See Lorente, *Memorias de Virreyes*, tomo I, p. 164, Lima, 1897. Romero, *op. cit.*, p. 89, note (1).

¹⁸ They were the first, I presume, to infringe the order dictated by the Viceroy of Peru.

¹⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 89.

²⁰ Though without giving the names of the Indian tribes. I personally have my doubts regarding Romero's assertion.

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The chief center of the custom in modern Peru is the village of Huacho and its vicinity, "although no longer with the aims and the morality of ancient times," ²¹ observes Romero.²²

In the province of Huánuco, in central Peru, the custom is known and practised under the Spanish term of *serviciá*, or *sirviciá*, meaning "to make use of something," "to do a favor." Here the period covered by the test is several months, after which, assuming that the man and girl have reached an agreement as to their union for life, the *cura* of the village marries the couple according to the rites of the Church. Should the contrary be the case, the girl returns to her parents' house where she abides until tried by another suitor.²³

Besides the *pantanaco-tincunacuspa*, the Quechua-speaking Indians of Cuzco practise another strange custom, related directly to the marriage of a young couple, which bears the name *manacuy*, or *rima yacuy*, signifying "love declaration of the parents," i.e., of the prospective bride and groom. This proposal having been made, the young man takes the girl off for trial, which may

²¹ Romero, *op. cit.*

²² In northern Peru the bridegroom used to be substituted by government officers, and, in certain parts, even by the *cura* of the Indian village.

²³ Romero, *op. cit.*

last for as long a period as several years, at the end of which time separation may come. This separation is called *ttacanacu*—"desconocerse," "to disavow themselves," yet the couple may continue their connubial state. During the period of such a "marriage made behind the Church," as it is called in other parts of Latin America, the man is styled "my respect-defense" instead of "my husband-man" when spoken of by the woman.

According to the French traveler Rouma,²⁴ trial marriage seems to be in vogue also among the Aymará Indians of Bolivia. In its form and its aims it is here identical to the one above referred to. Its name, *servinacú*, no doubt has the same meaning as *serviciá* or *sirviciá*, as the custom is called by the Indians of Huánuco. The romantic explication of the *servinacú* custom in Bolivia, as given by the French traveler,²⁵ is, however, susceptible also of another and more probable definition.

²⁴ Les indiens quitchuas et aymarás des Hauts Plateaux de la Bolivie, pp. 58-59, Le Havre, 1913.

²⁵ ". . . debe interpretarse como una manifestación de gran cordura y que tiende a formar hogares holgados y dichosos." It requires a great deal of romanticism to reach such a conclusion regarding the meaning of pre-nuptial concubinage which in former times must no doubt have had religious significance.

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Regarding the meaning of the Quechua terms *pantanaco-tincunacuspa*, Romero, relying on Mid-dendorf,²⁶ Mossi,²⁷ and the Spanish-Quechua glossary published by the Franciscan Fathers,²⁸ gives the following forms:

1. pantanaco:	pantanacuy	equivocarse entre objetos parecidos— to mistake among similar objects
	pantanacuy	unir, conformar las voluntades—to unite, to conform, to adjust desires
	pantanacui (Mossi)	errar, caer en falta —to err, to mistake, to fall into an error
2. tincunacuspa:	tincunacuy	juntarse—to join
	tincunayay	desear de encon- trarse—to desire to meet with
	tincuna cushga	unirse, aliarse—to ally oneself

²⁶ Wörterbuch des Runa-Simi oder der Keshua-Sprache, Leipzig, 1890.

²⁷ Diccionario Quichua-Castellano, Sucre, 1860. Medina, *op. cit.*, no. 82, incorrectly gives 1859.

²⁸ Vocabulario Castellano y Keshua de Ancash. Compuesto por varios religiosos franciscanos misionarios de los Colegios de Propaganda Fide del Perú. Lima, 1905.

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tincuy	encontrarse, juntarse con algo, venir bien, estar bien juntas dos cosas—to meet with each other, to be well joined (two things)
tincu	the joining place of two
tincuni	to join, to meet with
tincunacuni	to meet, being two or being many things
tincu ²⁹	the place where two rivers join, the confluence

Thus far is the Quechua language concerned, although the word *tincunacuspa* might well be explained also by Aymará. In Father Bertonio's Aymará vocabulary ³⁰ I find these forms:

tin-cu-tha [the divisions are mine]	to meet the army, or the contrary parties, in war time; or when gambling they are about to start a fight, a quarrel
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²⁹ *Tingo* occurs very frequently in compound Quechua river-names in Peru.

³⁰ Vocabulario dela Lengva Aymara. Chucuyto, M. DC. XII. Segvnda Parte. Edición facsimilaria. Published by J. Platzmann, Leipzig, 1879.

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tin-cu-saatha	to see whether two things agree, whether they are in accord; to correspond with each other
tin-cu-yatha	to confront, to check up

It is evident that *tincu* is a compound noun and that *tin* is the locative in, at, etc., and as such it is similar to the *ti*, *tin*, locative (-illative), in the Maya-K'iché languages.³¹

So far as I know, trial marriage in the form above described is rare in South America. References to a similar custom I found only in Fray Severino de Santa Teresa's excellent description of the Indians of Urabá, Colombia. This book, which contains an enormous amount of ethnological material, bears the title "Creencias, Ritos, Usos y Costumbres de los Indios Catíos de la Prefectura Apostólica de Urabá." ³²

³¹ Respecting the probable relationship of Quechua and Aymará, see Steinthal, "Das Verhältniss, das zwischen dem Ketschua und Aimará besteht." Congrès International des Américanistes, Compte-rendu de la Septième Session, Berlin 1888, pp. 462-465, Berlin, 1890. The Carib-Arawak subsoil in Quechua I have referred to in my study entitled "Las Lenguas Indígenas de Centro América," p. 108, San José de Costa Rica, 1928.

³² Bogotá, Imprenta de San Bernardo, 1924. 8°, x+141 numb. pp. Cf. my article "Los Misioneros Católicos y la Ciencia Moderna," Nota Bibliográfica, *La Voz de Caldas*, Manizales, Colombia, Septiembre de 1927.

Lastly, whatever might be the origin and the true significance of the curious prenuptial concubinage, we may be assured that the custom as practised by the Indians of Peru by no means finds a parallel in the marriage of the Cuicateca Indians of Oaxaca, Mexico,³³ as erroneously asserted by Dr. Romero.⁵⁴

The prenuptial customs referred to by Elfego Adán in his interesting paper on the Cuicateca are evidently survivals or a modified form of *marriage by purchase*, which from the earliest times must have been practised also amongst the Huasteca-Tének³⁵ Indians of San Luis Potosí and their Maya-K'iché relatives of Yucatán and Central America. As I have elsewhere said, notwithstanding the fact that the woman—the future wife in the fullest sense of the term—is purchased, her suitor puts a bundle of candlewood behind her house. If she agrees to the match, then each morning she takes a stick away, otherwise the bundle remains intact.

³³ Elfego Adán, "Los Cuicatecos Actuales," *Anales del Museo Nacional de Arqueología de México*, Epoca 4^a, tomo 1 (tomo 18 de la Colección), Marzo-Abril, pp. 137-154, Mexico, 1922; see p. 153.

³⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 90.

³⁵ La Posición etnológica y lingüística de los Huasteca, por Rudolf Schuller, *El México Antiguo*, tomo 11, números 5 a 8, México, Mayo a Agosto de 1924, pp. 141-149.

Direct reference to a similar custom occurs in a passage of the Popol Vuh, in which it is said:

<p>Xa ox-chob chi chinamit x-qohe chiri chi Izmachi, u bi tinamit, ca chiri chi naipuch x-qui tiqiba vi vaim u qaha chirech qui mial, ta x-qui ziih uloc.</p>	<p>Only these three sibs of the tribe were there at Izmachi, which is the name of the town; and there the festivals began for their daughters, when they (suitors) came to leave the candle-wood.³⁶</p>
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On the other hand, the custom regarding commensal relations which has been described by Squier³⁷ seems to be a mere survival of the idea connected with taboo-breaking. Squier writes:

“At Yunguyo, the same peculiarly striking habit prevails as at Lima, already referred to as an act of pleasing condescension on the part of the gentleman, which is reciprocated by the lady—namely, of passing morsels of food, the

³⁶ Popol Vuh, etc., par l'Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg, pp. 304-305, Paris, 1861.

“ . . . quand ils venaient porter du bois (pour l'usage des temples)” is mere guesswork on the part of the French priest. Cf. also note (3), p. 304.

³⁷ Peru. Incidents of Travel and Exploration in the Land of the Incas, by E. George Squier, New York [1877]. See p. 315, and cf. also p. 61.

former on his fork, and the latter with her bare fingers, which convey the tidbits into the mouth of the gallant."

Nor has anything to do with "trial marriage" the form of marriage referred to by Emily Z. Friedkin of the "Evening Post Foreign Service."³⁸ The Talmudic records, we are told in that dispatch, show that R. Nachmann acted in the same manner on his frequent sojourns in Schekanzib, that is, seeking a woman-wife for the duration of his stay in the aforementioned town, a practice which seems to be connected rather with that of lending or exchanging wives as an expression of hospitality, and the like. Yuma husbands for gain surrender not only their slaves, but their wives. Hospitality carries with it the obligation of providing for the guest a temporary wife.³⁹ It may be said that similar practices, with identical underlying ideas, are to be found among many other American Indian tribes.

³⁸ *The New York Evening Post*, June 17, 1930.

³⁹ Bancroft, *Native Races*. Wild Tribes, vol. 1, p. 514, San Francisco, 1882.

THE PARAPHERNALIA OF THE
DUWAMISH "SPIRIT-CANOE"
CEREMONY—*Concluded*

T. T. WATERMAN

The Carved Posts or "Images"

These images always represent a being in human form. Dorsey describes two such objects preserved in the Field Museum, collected years ago by the missionary Myron Eells.

They vary in height from three to four and a half feet. There is no attempt to portray the legs, the base of the figures terminating in a point, which is planted in the ground, holding the figure upright. The arms are sometimes roughly indicated by painting. The head is smoothly rounded off toward the back, but the front of the head is usually a flat surface on which eyes, nose, and mouth are painted. Sometimes these features are represented by rude carving. Such carven posts or images always represent a certain definite class of spirits, the "ground-beings" or *swawati'utid*, of which mention has already been made.

These ground-beings have the size of small children, and they dance about in wild and lonely places. A man gets such spirits as guard-

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ians by wandering, fasting, in the woods. The spirits then "take your wind," as the Indians say, leaving you senseless. When the seeker for power revives, he sings the songs they have taught him. Off deep in the woods the fasting Indian often finds a spring, or a pond, over which the trees bend, as though they were trying to look into it. Such a pond is the home of earth-beings. The fasting Indian drinks that water. Then the spirits "get" him. Sometimes a stump will say to a seeker, "Here!" Then it talks to him: "This is I; this is the way I look; this is my rig; this is the way my hands look; this is my song." Then the man paints his ceremonial objects that way, and treasures the song through life.

Probably the best way to give an impression of the objects representing these ground-beings is to give the information concerning certain specimens which were obtained by me for the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation. They were secured from Jerry Kenum at Tolt, Washington, but represent the ceremony as carried out on the western shore of Lake Sammamish, where Jerry's people belong. They thus represent the supernatural experiences of some of the individuals who produced the Museum specimens. Those obtained by myself

were made, as was the case with the painted planks, for a ceremony which was never held.

The first one represents a little woman earth-being who appeared to Doctor Bill, a well-known shaman who lived at Tolt. Her name was SlehoLi'tsa. She "spoke" to him once in the early part of winter, and gave him power to go to the underworld (fig. 142).

The next is a representation of a male earth-being who appeared to Old John, who lived on the western shore of Lake Sammamish. This spirit bore the curious name Sde'ehabc, "over yonder." The horizontal band painted below the heart on this figure represents the diaphragm, *d'ea'ktlds* (fig. 143).

The next image (fig. 144) belonged to my informant's uncle, Bill Tetctatctld. When Bill was a boy he was walking around by the river one day. He came near



FIG. 142.—Carven post or "idol" representing a female spirit named SlehoLi'tsa (suggesting "Ghost-woman"). Length, 3.4 feet.



FIG. 143.—
Carven post or "idol" representing a male spirit named
Sde^hhabc, "over yonder." Length, 3.4 feet.

a jam of logs. He saw what seemed to be a boy, naked, jumping about on top of the log-jam. This individual was running about, peering under his hand into the water. As he jumped about he was saying or exclaiming "*Eha'iyaya'!* *Eha'iyaya'!*" and peering here, and peering there. He was doing this, looking for fish in the water. Suddenly the young spectator realized it was not a human being at all. "Oh!" he said to himself, "That's a supernatural being!" The being spoke across to him: "Come near, boy. Now look at me. I have only one eye, but with it I can see everything. I can see all things very plainly. You will be like me." The spirit's name was Lqw^a'lus. In after years, therefore, old Bill was a great man for spearing. His luck with the spear came to be well known. That was on account of this interview. The figure repre-

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senting this spirit is made, like the spirit, with only one eye.

The next figure (fig. 145) represents an earth-spirit who "spoke" (i.e. revealed himself) to Jim Zakuse (brother of Tyee Jim), on Lake Sammamish. Jim was passing through the woods, when a solitary blackened stump suddenly "spoke" to him. This stump-spirit became his helper. Because the helper lived in a blackened stump, they used to paint the carved figure black with charcoal. The figure, therefore, came to be called *Sxwe-yu'x*, "negro." Its real name, however, was *Sxwoha'p*, "stump." He was a friend worth having, and for years after old Jim's death, guarded his grandchildren from harm.

Ceremonial Staffs

As already mentioned, each "doctor" carried a staff in the spirit-canoe performance. These staffs were used in various ways. With

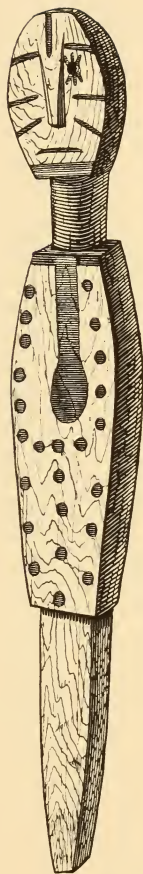


FIG. 144.—Carven post or "idol" representing a male spirit named *Lqw'a'lus*. Length, 3.3 feet.



FIG. 145.—
Carven post

or "idol" representing a spirit named Sxwoha'p, "stump." Length, 3.3 feet.

them they simulated canoe-paddles, spears, poles for shoving the spirit-canoe over the shallows, bows, and so on, according to the particular stage of the journey they had reached. During the singing of certain songs, each doctor pointed with the staff at the paintings on his own board. Some of these objects collected by me are plain sticks, about four or five feet long. One specimen is carved to represent the loon (see fig. 146, *e*), while another (fig. 146, *b*) is a miniature drumming-pole.

The "Set-up" for the Spirit Canoe Ceremony

All accounts agree that the primary thing in the making of the spirit-canoe was a set of six painted planks, planted upright in two rows, forming a rectangle, measuring, according to Dorsey, ten by twenty feet. This rectangle constitutes the spirit boat or boats.

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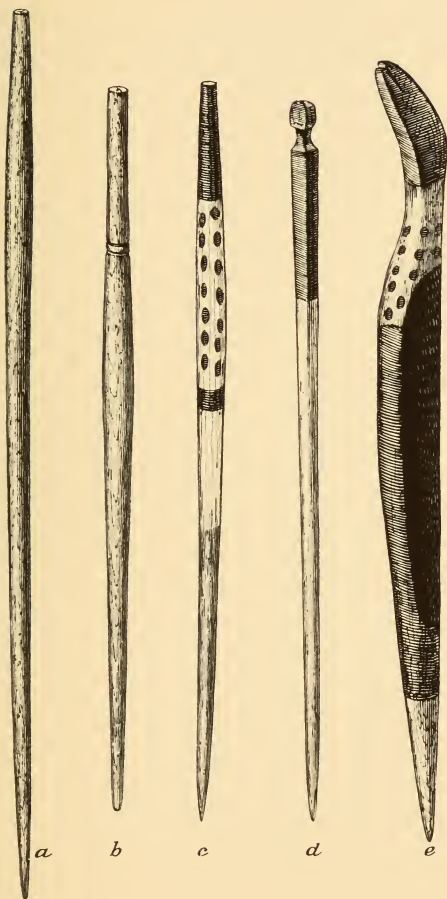


FIG. 146.—Ceremonial staffs used by the shamans in the Spirit-canoe performance. *b* represents, in miniature, the “drumming-pole” used to pound against the roof in beating time; *e* represents the loon. Length of *a*, 4.6 feet.

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Haeberlin says that each row of planks makes a canoe. My own informants said that the two rows make one canoe. In the latter case, four shamans were involved, and they took their stand in the middle between the two rows. Probably Haeberlin was describing a more ambitious ceremony, in which more shamans were employed and in which they accordingly divided themselves into two crews. I never heard in any case of more than six planks being used. That seems to be a fixed number.

Mention has already been made of the fact that the planks are ordinarily prepared anew for each ceremony. The shamans accordingly assembled ten or twelve days before the time fixed for the performance, to make ready the paraphernalia. A cedar log was provided, from which the planks were split. The pigments for making paint were brought together and ground up. Each shaman, as explained above, painted his own designs, calling upon his own particular spirit-helpers. When the planks were ready they were planted in the ground at the proper intervals. The canoe pointed northward, and the bent-over tops of the planks faced the east, so the animals portrayed by them faced the dawn. They were said to "swallow the daylight," so that it would not "press down" on

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the carved posts. Each shaman then set up, in his own compartment of the canoe, these posts or images, representing the earth-spirits who were his helpers. "The planks make the canoe, and these images are the passengers." Each shaman on the evening of the ceremony made an oration, explaining the meaning of the paintings. When all was ready, the patient (*sbaE*) was brought toward the middle of the house, and near him a circle was drawn on the ground.

The shamans arranged themselves in this circle, sang the patient's supernatural songs, and their souls or minds sank down through the earth, getting on the trail of the dead. As the spirits below entered the spirit boat, the shamans above simultaneously arranged themselves amid the planks. From that point on the ceremony was a dramatization or pantomime of the experiences through which the spirit-beings passed on their journey to Shadow-land. The man whose paintings were on the bow plank was in the place of danger.

The whole audience helped in the drama. Thus, when the war-party reached the underworld and entered the village, the audience took the part of the dead people abiding there. They had to act as though they were asleep, while the

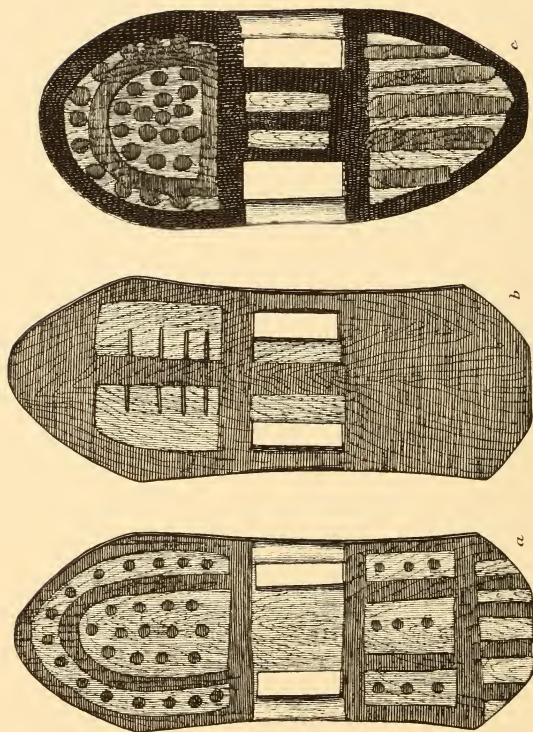


FIG. 147.—Ceremonial objects with hand-holds, carved from a cedar plank, called *skudi'litc*, *a* and *b* representing two sides of the same object. The style of painting is revealed by the spirit and these objects often become "alive" and drag people about. *c* represents one side of another specimen, the reverse of which is painted plain red. Length of

patient had to be half awake. The shamans left the canoe and prowled about, examining everyone. When they came to the patient, they scrutinized him closely, and studied him. "Yes," they said, "this is he." They picked him up, put him on his feet, wrapped him in a blanket, and put him in the "canoe." They had reversed the canoe, ready to start back to this world. The bow planks were put at the stern, and the planks on the left were put over on the right, and all the images were faced about. Then everybody in the audience stood up, the shamans woke the "ghosts," and the fight began. The rest of the ritual has been outlined.

Few objects were necessary other than those described. In recent years shamans have always taken off their trousers, covering their legs with a blanket belted tightly around the waist. Mention was made to me of deerskin drums, but rattles, curiously enough, were not used in this particular performance.

The following diagram (fig. 148) illustrates the actual disposition of the ceremonial objects. It was made from a posed photograph showing Indians and actual specimens, arranged for me by Jerry Kenum, who was not himself a shaman but who had often seen certain of his older relatives go through the performance.

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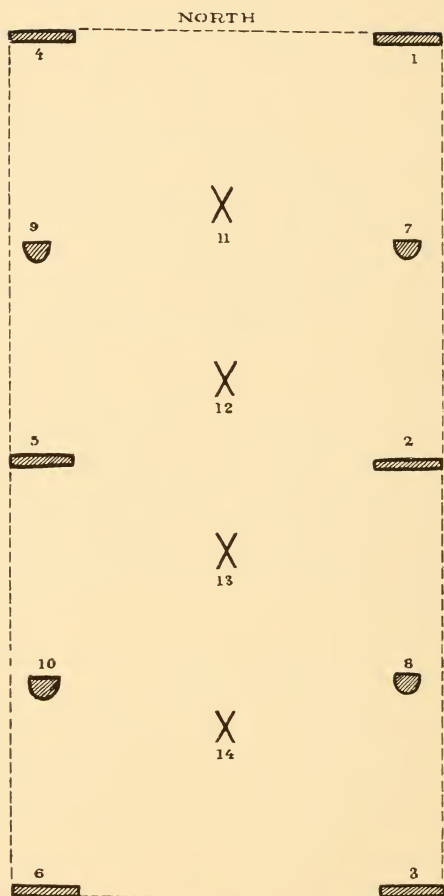


FIG. 148.—Diagram showing the arrangement of ceremonial objects forming the Spirit-canoe. Numbers 1-6 are the tall painted planks. Numbers 7-10 are the "idols" or carven posts. The positions numbered 11-14 represent the places occupied by the shamans.

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After the ceremony was over, the "idols" were carefully washed, which operation removed most of the paint, and were then hidden away in the woods, usually in a hollow cedar. This, in fact, was the usual procedure with ceremonial objects. I have myself seen a great cedar, the enormous base of which had been hollowed out by forest fires, making a "room" six feet in diameter. A few ceremonial objects formerly to be seen there had been secreted by a certain shaman who had died long years before. My guide had come across the tree accidentally while hunting deer in the snow. The "idols" were brought in from the forest for the subsequent ceremonies, and carefully repainted. The planks normally were used but once, being carried into the forest and left there. If cedar were scarce, however, they were sometimes brought back and repainted. Such planks were called *si'luwl*L, "used twice for a canoe." If this were done, however, the trip was somewhat more difficult, for the "boat" would "rock" and the voyage would be pretty "rough." If the planks were used twice it was obligatory to mention the fact in a song, which was as follows:

*Ya+ si'luwl*L
*Yaha'iyaiya' si'luwl*L
*Ya+ si'luwl*L
SE'kso'L sEkso'L sEkso'L

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Ya+ used twice for canoe.

Yaha'iyaiya' used twice for canoe.

Ya+ used twice for canoe.

Wild! Wild! Wild! (that is, hard to steer).

Various Kinds of Spirit-power

It is obvious, I think, that various types of spiritual help (and a man might possess several at once) were used in this "journey" to the underworld. This accounts for the great variety of objects present, or represented, among the paraphernalia. Some of these things primarily were not connected with the journey to Dead-land. The best way to elucidate this matter seems to be to list the various classes of supernatural powers recognized by these people. The existence of various forms has been pointed out by Curtis (vol. IX, p. 158). In some cases several "medicines" or "powers" seem to have very similar purposes. For example, there are three which give a man wealth, two which give success in hunting, and so on. Each type of "help," however, has its own proper name, its own type of song, and its own paraphernalia and ceremonial performances. I heard mention of nineteen classes of "help," and there may be others.

1. *Tubca'dab*: Roberts and Haeberlin (p. 500) mention this medicine, calling it Tōbcā'dad,

and supply a transcription in musical notation of two of the songs. It is a war-medicine, giving a man great power and fortitude.

2. *Sqaip*: Roberts and Haeberlin give some of the songs of this spirit, which is sometimes owned by women. This "medicine," like the former, gives a man great strength and courage. As the Indians say, these are medicines for being "mean," and for fighting. They enable a man to do marvelous feats. A person who possesses the *Tubca'dab* power will sometimes during a ceremony thrust a knife through the skin of his breast below the nipple, horizontally, and dance up and down the house in that condition. A possessor of the second or *sqaip* "help" sings during a ceremony several special songs, dances the length of the house and back, and then thrusts a knife through his thigh. Then he dances again, with the knife sticking in him. With this "power" goes the use of deer-hoof rattles. A person who possesses one of these medicines cannot be killed by an enemy.

3. *Hi'da*,

4. *Yaba'dad*,

5. *Tiyu'lbek*: These "helps" are similar in that they give a person great wealth and prestige. A man who has the *Hi'da* power gives "cultus-potlatches" (feasts during which gifts are dis-

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tributed, no return being expected) and gets a great name thereby. The *Tiyu' LbEk* is the most highly valued of the three. A person who possesses this "help" becomes the leading man of his group.

6. *Xwi'xwiyadad*,

7. *S^eo'bdi*. These and the preceding are good for hunting.

8. *Xwa'ltcEb*,

9. *Tsa'IEk*: These two give a man success with water-animals (see fig. 56) The first enables a man to make lots of fish come (in other words, to bring on a "run"). The word *Xwa'ltcEb* is, of course, connected with *xwaltc*, salt-water. The second power (No. 9), in addition to giving success in fishing, gives a man the ability to build fine canoes. When the "influence" comes upon a man, he acts as one possessed, or, as my informants say, "crazy." The singing of the *Tsa'IEk* song brings him back to normal. The song is as follows:

Ade', tsaiyu'yiyas.

Ade', my head is sick!

10. *Yi'lbiux*: Possession of this power results in making the fish known as smelt very plentiful. A man gets for his helper the "father" of the smelt. When the owner "calls," the smelt (*gola'stl^u*) will run in great numbers.

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As seems to be always the case, the possessor of the power becomes ill at the time when the influence enters him. In this case the influence is felt very early in the spring, sometimes as early as the latter part of January. The sick man calls in the people from far and wide for a ceremony, certain objects being meanwhile laid out on a mat ready for use. The most important are a stick or wand (*sta'djek!*), eighteen inches long and as large around as the wrist, a wooden carving representing the porpoise (*qEsio'q^é*), a large pebble, and a carved piece of plank in the form of a flounder or smelt, called by the name of the ceremony, *Yi'lbix*. When all are assembled, the "sick" man begins to sing his songs. The arrival of his "power" is marked by the fact that the objects begin of themselves to move around on the mat, without anyone touching them. Everything in the room, in some cases, seems to come to life. Baskets and tools begin to quiver, and the mats fall down from the wall.

A certain man (it is said) seized hold of the porpoise figure, to show that he could hold it still. After he gripped it, he could not let go, and the figure led him back and forth across the house, with the motion characteristic of the porpoise, until he was exhausted and ready to drop.

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For the actual taking of the smelt, the Indians prepare small dip-nets (*kwa'yusid*), made in some cases from the fiber extracted from willow-bark (*sts^ga'pEds*). At the termination of the ceremony they sent some one out to look for smelt. On the first day, this man would take one or two smelt, and on the next day, one or two. On the fifth day, however, the fish would be crowding thick in the rivers, and the word would pass far and wide that the run had started. The people who came to the ceremony would be the first to start catching and curing fish.

11. *Qweq*: The spirit who grants this kind of power is "like a human being." Possession of the power results in long life and contentment.

12. *Laha'ladad* (cf. *slaha'l*, the hand-game): This is a gambling "help" and makes one a successful gamester. Roberts and Haeberlin have recorded one of the songs in musical notation. Gibbs (p. 207) says that the "medicine" of the hand-game is called *tsaik*. This is almost certainly an error (see No. 9 above). His word *knawk'h* for the medicine of the "disc" game is an interesting addition to the list of "powers," for the disc game was very commonly played. These games have been too well described by Culin to need any comment in this place.

13. *Ska'gwel*: This is a "power" obtained by certain women. It has the result of giving a woman luck, and making her skilful, so that she does all sorts of work easily.

14. *Sptda'q^w* (Haeberlin's *SbEtEt^wda'q*) or *X^wdab*: This is the spirit-help which enables a man to go to the underworld, in the great ceremony we have just been discussing.

15. *Q^eoxq^e*,

16. *Tso'tsotob*,

17. *Skudi'litc*: These three I mention together because the manifestation of the power is accompanied by certain peculiar motor disturbances. The Indians say that the objects used are entered by the "power," and in this condition they quiver, jump about, and drag around the people who try to hold them. The psychological explanation undoubtedly is that there is an expectancy of a certain definite pattern in the minds of the performers, who get the shaking visitation and contribute the resultant quivering and jerking to the objects which they hold. I do not mean that quivering seizures are limited to these performances, for they occur also in the spirit-canoe ceremony just described. In connection with the *Tso'tsotob* power, to give a definite example, a man receives an inward prompting from the spirit to this effect: "At such-and-such a time I

shall come to you. Be on the lookout. Save money. Store up provisions. Be ready to give a great feast." When the time arrives, the patient falls into a sickness, the power is so strong in him. For ten days he fasts. "That is the time," say the Indians, "when he sends out to invite the people." The ceremony is called *Ste'sEBElaq*^w. As the ceremonies progress, the people sing his supernatural songs, and meanwhile certain appointed men accompany the songs by pounding against the roof with the long drum-poles already mentioned. The owner of the power may announce, after a time, "My power will now enter those drum-poles." The poles "of themselves" then begin to shake. The men can scarcely hold them. The *Q^soxq^s* power I know little about, except that it also produces shakings. The *Skudi'litc* is the well-known power connected with the plank object with two hand-holds, already referred to. It is the most valued and the most violent of the three. It is considered a most powerful form of "help."

18. *SbaL*: This is a power connected with the operations of the sucking-doctor, who is also among these people, a diviner. If a man has a pain, the sucking-doctor kneels by him, having a basket of water at hand. Under the crook of his own elbow he looks "into" the patient, to see

what his sickness is. After peering around in his "inwards" until the trouble is located, he takes a little water in his mouth, places his lips to the painful spot, and sucks out "blood." The taking of water into the mouth makes one suspect that he had previously inserted therein some dry powdered *xala'lsid*, or red pigment, which, mixed with the water, he spits out as "blood." Curtis remarks (vol. ix, p. 158) that various blood-sucking creatures are the guardian-spirits of people who follow this profession. I have record of a poor little scrofulous girl living on the shore south of Suquamish, who was treated by one of these sucking-doctors. The shaman, Old Tom, whose native name is Hwe'lbqid, "bit her nose," which was "rotten," and got out a quantity of blood and offensive matter which was making her sick. The girl died later. The treatment "came too late to save her."

Sometimes one of these sucking-doctors will be forced to send his own soul on a tour of investigation, to find the cause of sickness. When he comes out of the trance, he announces that the patient's "shadow" (*sle*), or his spirit-power (*skla'letut*), has been taken to the underworld by the dead. "They have your *sle* down below. You are half gone. You are nothing

but a body now. You have no strength. You will not last long." Then the patient's relatives, people who have sense, help him to get together the property for a Spirit-canoe ceremony, for it is that only which can save his life.

19. *Xe'dxedib* (also recorded as *Ski'dkedib*): This "power" is connected with a ceremony "which makes a boy into a man." I have saved it for the last because it is the most interesting of all. The performance is similar to the "cannibal" or Hamatsa ceremonial of the Kwakiutl described by Boas, and is unquestionably connected with it. The ceremony has been briefly commented on by Curtis (vol. IX, p. 112) and alluded to by Eells (Ten Years at Skokomish, p. 37). The nature of the connection is a matter about which I am not prepared to say a great deal. There are two possibilities: Either the tidings of the great Kwakiutl rituals long ago filtered through to these people, resulting in the setting up of a simple and much reduced form of the ceremony, or else this simple Puget Sound ceremony represents an old and widely diffused institution which has been specially developed by the Kwakiutl. Either possibility lends this Puget Sound performance a good deal of interest. Curtis remarks that it is limited to the Clallam, Sooke, Songish,

Lummi, and Sanetch, which would lend color to the idea of simple diffusion from the Kwakiutl. Another matter which renders this particular "spirit-power" important is that it is the much-discussed "Black tamanous," often spoken of in this region. *Tamanous* is a jargon word applied to supernatural beings, "medicines," and ceremonial objects in general. Eells (Ten Years at Skokomish, p. 37) divides the native religious beliefs and the spirits associated with them into three classes: black tamah-no-us, red or sing tamah-no-us, and tamah-no-us for the sick. I have somewhere seen all the performances characterized as black, red, and white. This color symbolism is arrant nonsense; as is likewise the recognition of *three* classes of performances. There are a great many more than that. The term "black" often carries in the literature of Puget sound the connotation that there is something about a ceremony that is particularly violent, sinister, low-down, degrading, and generally sacrilegious and forbidden. The particular "spirit-power" which I am now discussing is looked upon by half-informed persons as the blackest of the black. The principal justification of the term is that the participants color their faces with charcoal. The following account of the performances is extremely schematic. The actual observances occupied many days.

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Shamans who undertook this ceremony selected a certain boy, very often, I am told, a boy who refused to "believe" his elders. One of the "doctors" took some water into his mouth, blew it into his hands, "twisted" it, and "struck" the boy with it. This knocked the lad insensible. They then "put him away" somewhere for five days. Meanwhile, the shamans assembled in a house, gathered the people, and had long performances, singing spirit-songs and preparing for the climax. The songs used at this time were utterly different from those of any other ceremony.

The performers, including usually a number of women, formed a circle around the fire, six or eight of them bearing wooden rattles. It was absolutely necessary for the face to be blackened, if one wished to get the "power." The women were obliged to wear the hair hanging loose and decorated with duck-feathers; also, they fasted for several days before the ceremony. Blood was often visible about the mouth and on the chests of the dancers, though uninitiated people did not know whence it came. One man who acted as leader started the songs, accompanied by the rattles. Later on, these rattles were passed about the circle to other performers. There is one special song which causes the people

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to be "crazy" or possessed (*q^oli'Exs*). When that occurred, they would dash at the fire and scatter it about. These ceremonies started early each evening and terminated about midnight. When at the close of the observances the boy is produced, the shamans gather around him. They have wooden rattles made of maple or alder, called *xwuba'otcid*, representing the grouse. Shaking these rattles, they dance around him, which brings him out of his stupor. On coming into consciousness he vomits a quantity of "blood" and begins to act very violently. He cannot speak, and his eyes are staring. He wishes to throw himself into the water, or, if he sees a fire burning, he dashes at it and attempts to claw it around. The shamans tie a strap around him, and two of them hold him, and move him about, dancing. The lad seizes and eats anything and everything he sees, like a ravening beast. If he sees a woman preparing to cook salmon, he wrests the fish from her, and bolts it, raw. He will seize a dog, tear it to pieces, and eat it. If he sees a baby, he will eat that (unless he is restrained). Readers interested in this ceremonial will find references to it in Eells (pp. 663, 666).

The remainder of the ceremonials seem to be intended to bring the candidate back to normal.

One of my informants, Burnt Charley, who had acted as a leader in this rite, spoke of a tossing performance, in which the candidate was lifted by six men, who, after singing, tossed him into the air. The first time, they caught him; the second time, he landed on his feet and dashed away. Bystanders made an effort to seize and hold the trailing ropes fastened to his waist, always without success, and the candidate disappeared. He ran to a certain secret place, guided by the "power," and took a bath. On returning to the village, he sang his songs, and was met by the people and escorted to another house, where he was "fixed up." Shredded cedar-bark, dyed red with alder, was tied around his head, and two ironwood wands were thrust under the head-band, standing vertically. These wands, called *sk⁸a'tctid*, served as head-scratchers. The candidate did not dare touch his head with his fingers. When I inquired whether the candidates wore any special clothes, my informant replied that they did not wear any at all. The candidate continued to fast for a period of days, meanwhile taking daily baths at his secret place. The other performers bathed daily near the village. Meanwhile, the general populace were having a great feast, at the expense of the candidate's relatives.

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This is a very important type of "power," more highly valued than any other. The identity of certain of the rites with the Hamatsa performances of the Kwakiutl, cannot, I think, be denied.

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THE MUSEUM LIBRARY

In May the James B. Ford library of the Museum was incorporated with the Collis P. Huntington Free Library and Reading Room, of Westchester Square. This library, founded by Mr. Huntington in the old village of Westchester in 1892, has been newly endowed by his son, Mr. Archer M. Huntington, as a memorial to his father. The Museum library, that of the American Numismatic Society, and the original collection of the Huntington Library are now to form the nucleus of a combined institution of research, amply endowed.

A modern stack building, with a capacity of approximately 100,000 books, and research facilities for students, is almost completed. The bulk of the Museum library will be removed to the new site, situated only a short distance from the Museum's research laboratories; but adequate collections for the use of the Museum staff will, of course, be retained in the Museum proper. Funds for the purchase of books and the conduct of bibliographical research will, it is presumed, make the James B. Ford collections in the new library a valuable aid to students in the fields of American archeology, ethnology, and linguistics.

The photostatic apparatus, installed for the

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purpose of securing for the Huntington Library and distributing to other libraries copies of manuscripts and rare imprints, has possibilities of far-reaching consequence in keeping abreast of the movement now engaging so largely the attention of all libraries specializing in the source material of historical research.

The closer linking of two of the institutions which have been gathered around the Hispanic Society of America—popularly known as the “Museum Group”—is an event of happy augury. The personnel of the Board of Directors stands for a very real union of aims and ideals in the conduct of the foundation. They are: Mrs. Archer M. Huntington; Archer M. Huntington, Chairman; George G. Heye, First Vice-chairman, Frederick Webb Hodge, Second Vice-chairman, E. T. Newell, Secretary and Treasurer. In addition three members of the Board of the original library, namely, Reverend Michael Farrington, Superior of the Order of Christian Brothers of Troy, New York, Reverend John J. Hoben (Brother Henry) of the same Order, and Dr. William C. Deming of Hartford, Connecticut, are honorary members of the new Board.

Miss Ruth Gaines, formerly librarian of the Museum, has been appointed librarian of the re-organized library.

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